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Honecker in Bonn: there's no turning back the clock now

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

The dam seems to be bursting. East Berlin abolishes the death penalty and declares an amnesty; Bonn announces a that the cash handout visitors from East Germany receive is to be raised from 50 marks to 100.

One town after another twins with a town in the other German state; the (West German) SPD and the (East German) SED agree to talk about "opening up systems"; and, last but not least, East Berlin leader Erich Honecker is given a full-scale welcome in Bonn.

The SED general secretary was hosted by the Federal President and Chancellor in Bonn and welcomed with even greater ceremony by several state premiers.

After this protocol upgrading he paid a sentimental journey to the Saar, where he was born and grew up, to his parents' grave and to the birthplaces of Karl Marx in Trier and Friedrich Engels in Wuppertal.

Carefully guarded, Herr Honecker in the flesh remained remote from the public yet ever-present on West German TV for an entire week.

What lasting consequences will his spectacular visit have? Let us first review the recent past.

Fifteen years ago the terms of the Basic Treaty were agreed in Bonn and East Berlin. These terms were bitterly opposed by the Christian Democrats.

Six years ago SPD Chancellor Helmut Schmidt visited Herr Honecker in East Germany. It was he who invited the East German leader to visit Bonn.

Christian Democrat Helmut Kohl was the Chancellor who welcomed Herr Honecker to Bonn, having performed a breathtaking, pragmatic volte-face of which only conservatives are capable before holding "frank and objective" talks with the SED leader.

Federal President Richard von Weizsäcker paved the way for the visit while himself on a state visit to Moscow. Chancellor Kohl performed with aplomb his duties as a host to the East German leader.

This point might not have been worth making had it been the Federal President. Herr von Weizsäcker can be relied on to acquit himself well of such duties. But the Chancellor could be seen on TV to cut a no less convincing figure in difficult intra-German terrain.

He demonstrated for all to see that Christian Democrats have endorsed the approach adopted by Willy Brandt and Helmut Schmidt.

All parties in the Bonn Bundestag have thus finally come to accept that reunification is no longer an item on the agenda of history; instead, they must seek to strike a pragmatic balance with the other German state.

On this point Chancellor Kohl, the CDU leader, and Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss, the CSU leader, agree — which is far from a matter of course.

The Chancellor showed in his talks with Herr Honecker and in his after-dinner speech that it is possible to mention everything that is hated about East Germany without merely appearing outraged.

No-one can now backtrack the form and initial results of Herr Honecker's visit. Herr Kohl and his government can justify the protocol upgrading of Herr Honecker and East Germany with reference to the truly impressive statistics on travel between the two German states. By the end of August over three million East Germans had visited the Federal Republic. By the year's end roughly 1.2 million below pensionable age will have visited the West. Both Herr Kohl and Herr Honecker expressly pledged themselves to encourage the trend. Nowadays we may feel such figures to be a matter of course, but they were beyond the reach of Social and Free Democratic coalition governments in Bonn.

Minister of State Schäuble of the Chancellor's Office was wise to warn against too great expectations. Apart from a few small gifts by the East Germans at the talks there were no major surprises.

East Berlin clearly expects substantial assistance from Bonn in modernising sections of its railway system, in desulphurising static emission by brown-coal fired furnaces and in renewing its industrial base. Failing Western aid, many major projects are bound either to fail or to be postponed from one year to the next.

Herr Honecker can be sure that photographs showing him with Herr von Weizsäcker and Herr Kohl in Bonn will not fail to have their effect.

He may now aim to visit Washington, London and Paris — and he can be sure of a reception in all three Western Allied capitals.

He will be able to welcome the Feder-

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Cheers. Honecker (left) and Kohl. (Photo: Sven Simon)

Page 2: Europeans look closely at what Honecker visit means; Wiebelskirchen finds it all a bit of a yawn.

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Deals signed on environment and technology

Ministers from the two German states have signed in Bonn three agreements aimed at intensifying intra-German cooperation in science and technology, environmental protection, and radiation protection and reactor safety. All three agreements include West Berlin.

The environmental protection agreement was signed by Environment Ministers Töpfer and Reichelt. Professor Töpfer said it laid the groundwork for cooperation in all sectors of environmental protection.

A working plan extending till 1989 provides for cooperation on atmospheric pollution, water protection, waste disposal and tree deaths.

"We will concentrate mainly on measures at the source of pollution, especially in areas of East Germany from which pollution reaches us," he said.

In talks with Herr Reichelt he had discussed problems relating to desalination of the Werra, water protection measures for the Elbe, issues relating to the East German waste depot in Schönberg, near Lübeck, and proposals to set up joint nature conservation areas.

The agreement on radiation protection provides for reciprocal information on peaceful uses of atomic energy, on monitoring of radiation and nuclear installations and on final storage of radioactive waste.

The terms of the agreement will include information about the East German nuclear waste depot in Bartensleben.

The agreement on scientific cooperation was signed by Federal Research and Technology Minister Heinz Riesenhuber and East Berlin Science and Technology Minister Herbert Weiz.

Herr Riesenhuber said the agreement was to be seen as a sign to scientists that they could now go ahead in earnest with cooperation with East Germany.

He was expecting research scientists and technicians to show initiative and submit proposals for further cooperation.

He was confident that the intensification of technological contact would give economic ties a boost.

Scientific cooperation will comprise 27 projects in an initial list. They include energy and materials research, production techniques and medicine.

Medical cooperation will include such topical issues as Aids and cancer research.

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(Frankfurter Neue Presse, 9 September 1987)

■ GERMANY

Europeans look closely at what Honecker visit means

Did Erich Honecker's visit to Bonn mark an end or a beginning in Germany, a chance or a chimera for Europe?

When two German flags flew outside the Chancellor's Office in Bonn many will have felt that their last dreams were blowing in the wind.

Not even those who have realised since the two German states signed the 1972 Basic Treaty that this official encounter was bound to come sooner or later would have taken in this sight with equanimity.

Even they will have felt a painful reminder, as Helmut Kohl and Erich Honecker shook hands, of the facts on which the new Deutschlandpolitik is inevitably based.

Seldom can rituals such as the playing of two German anthems in succession have weighed as heavily as on this occasion.

Oddly enough, neither anthem has retained its first verse. We in the West divested ourselves after the war of the verse in which Germany is proclaimed to extend from the Meuse to the Memel.

Never again did we want to be misunderstood as associating ourselves with fantasies of a Greater Germany *über alles*. These were fantasies that plunged the world into the misery of war and led to the division of Germany.

East German leaders grew steadily more dissatisfied with the all-German hopes embodied in the first verse of their anthem, with its refrain "Germany, united fatherland."

So the suppressed first verses of the two anthems stand for historical trial and error. They both fail to answer the crucial question as to Germany's future.

It is a question that has preoccupied neighbouring countries too. The *International Herald Tribune* wrote that people in Europe and America could be excused for feeling uneasy about the intra-German summit.

Reunification is nowhere felt to be a real prospect or risk, but the two German states' rapprochement triggered universal amazement and alarm.

Rapprochement was, perhaps, the European keyword, with worried neighbours wondering whether we are on the way forward to a new German routine or on the way back to riddles of old.

The French in particular have been brooding, from end to end of the political spectrum. They talk in terms of a new *germanophonie*, an expression reminiscent of *francophonie*, the term for French-speaking countries outside France.

Few French commentators have been as forthright as former Foreign Minister Michel Jobert, who suspects the Germans of aiming at establishing a degree of freedom in relations with America and Europe.

"Germany intends to go its own way in Central Europe," he said. "It is a nation that thinks it can do a deal with the Soviet Union, bearing in mind the economic strength and present prosperity of the Federal Republic, and buy back its unity in one form or another."

Another former Foreign Minister, Jean-François Poncet, converted his opinion of the Germans into a warning to the Americans.

Moscow, he said, was trying via intra-German relations to exert pressure on the Federal Republic and drive a wedge between the Germans and the Europeans and Americans.

These endeavours came up against the Federal Republic's firm roots in the West, but a denuclearisation of Europe and a reduction in US troop strength might one day lead to West Germans seeking in the East the security guarantees the West no longer had to offer.

Even the left-wing daily *Libération* has taken to warning the Germans' erstwhile "American godfather" that there are growing doubts as to the solidarity of the US shield.

True enough, any changes in relations between the superpowers are seen by Europeans in terms of what is felt to be a German risk.

In the missile modernisation context there were worries about neutralism among German left-wingers; German right-wing resistance to the double zero solution worries others with its connotations of nationalism.

What, they wonder, if the two trends join forces at some stage? The pressure of European visions of this kind may vary, but there are no signs that it may vanish.

When the Germans were united in Bismarck's nation-state they were troubled by nightmare visions of alliances forged against them. Many Europeans, or so *Le Figaro* says, now feel the vision of German unity is a nightmare.

Official political rhetoric takes good care, in neighbouring countries, not to engage in too much plain speaking about the German situation.

Seldom does anyone go as far as François Mauriac, who once admitted: "I love Germany so much that I am happy there are two of it" — or Italy's Giulio Andreotti, who said in 1984: "There are two German states, and let there remain two of them."

DIE ZEIT

But there can be no doubt whatever that everyone shares this view, especially in connection with Herr Honecker's visit to Bonn.

We Germans in contrast are bound to feel this European speculation is most strange, coming when it does. We experienced the East German leader's visit as a ritualisation, not a revision, of the division of Germany.

In visiting the West Herr Honecker sought first and foremost to complete the legitimation of his East German state. Who could seriously believe there might be any possibility of ever negotiating with an SED leader about the liquidation of his fiefdom?

The policies pursued by the Bonn and East Berlin governments give no cause for nightmares. The modest hopes placed in the visit (and largely fulfilled in advance) do our neighbours no harm.

Yet we must take their alarm seriously because it is based to no more than the slightest degree on current events.

Fine words about reunification may trigger amazement here and there, but they count for little or nothing, which cannot be said of the historic and structural reasons for malaise.

The shock of two world wars is not too remote for German policies to enjoy from the outset the credit of absolute normality.

As long as we hold debates, such as the one conducted by historians last year, in which a number of publicists and politicians seek to relativise and intellectually normalise the past, we cannot expect to be credited with normality.

No matter how the German situation has progressed since the emergence of nation-states in Europe, and no matter what shape it may take in years to come, it will never be viewed with less than special attention.

Both the Federal Republic and East Germany now rank second in their respective pacts, both of which were partyly set up to ensure that they toed the line.

Any idea of change, particularly of a merger of their territorial, political and economic potential, could not fail to alarm their neighbours.

German reunification would be bound, in European eyes (and thus in ours too), to entail reversion to the condition that led to Germany's division.

It was a state of affairs in which a united Germany as a central European power was viewed with suspicion by its neighbours, who set up alliances to help restore the shaky balance of power.

What follows from this realisation, for Germans and for Europeans?

Where the Germans are concerned, Europe must always be more important than whatever shape the German nation takes. There must be no progress for Germany at Europe's expense.

The Federal Republic can only afford to pursue intra-German rapprochement in the interest of Germans everywhere provided it continues to press for European integration, both in Western Europe and closer ties between Western and Eastern Europe.

A veto to the West and advances toward the East are mutually exclusive. The division of Germany was long a hindrance to European integration. Progressive integration now makes it possible to alleviate the consequences of division without prompting fresh anxiety.

We Germans can and no doubt must live with division, but we cannot do so without participation in European processes.

In this participation we must never, and certainly not in the purported interest of the other Germans, succumb to the wrong choice between the reality of Western Europe and unclarified ideas of a mythical Central Europe.

An all-European future presupposes closer integration of Western Europe; otherwise "Central Europe" must inevitably emerge as a code-word for German national fantasies.

As for the Europeans, if their policies are further nationalised and progressively take the shape of national egoism the process will be one that cannot fail to extend to the Federal Republic too.

Yet the profit to be earned from national provinciality is surely less than the dividends paid by cooperation. What is more, France in particular must rethink its security policy.

Neither in Europe's interest nor in its own can France afford to wallow in doubts about both the Americans and the Germans — and to project the resulting dilemma at the Germans.

Herr Honecker's visit to Bonn, both an end to illusion and a platform for hope, does not entail a clash between German opportunities and European worries.

That is to say, it does not do so unless everyone refuses to realises that German worries also entail European opportunities.

Robert Leicht

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 11 September 1987)

Wiebelskirchen finds it all a bit of a yawn

Wiebelskirchen, population 10,0[illegible] was largely unmoved by the visit [illegible] its best-known native son, East Berl[illegible] leader Erich Honecker.

A few demonstrators waved red flags in welcome. Others distributed leaflets and waved banners protesting against the Berlin Wall.

Both were the exception. Erich Honecker's first visit for 40 years to the [illegible] in the Saar where he was born 75 y[illegible] ago, failed to create a stir among local [illegible]dents.

Most will probably have been relie[illegible] that it was all over — even though He[illegible] Honecker spent less than an hour there.

He was six minutes at the family gra[illegible] and 24 minutes in his parental home Kuchenbergstrasse 88, with his sister Gertrud Hoppstädter.

His visit to Wiebelskirchen, classified as strictly private by the official East German delegation, began at 5.10 p.m. outside the cemetery, which had been sealed off by the police since the early morning.

Herr Honecker arrived in an armour-plated Mercedes 600 to visit the grave of his parents, who died in the 1960s.

There was a minor incident when two young NPD supporters threw a parcel of leaflets protesting against the Berlin Wall at the car.

Herr Honecker, accompanied by his sister, paid no attention to the leaflets. The police did not intervene.

He and his sister spent just a few moments at the black marble grave with the inscription "Wilhelm Honecker and family."

Herr Honecker did not visit the W[illegible] for the funerals of his mother Kat[illegible] who died in 1963, or his father Wilh[illegible] who died in 1969.

Dieter Borkowski, author of a biography entitled "Erich Honecker — Soviet [illegible] trap or German Patriot?", had a simple explanation for this.

Speaking in the Saar a few days before the visit, he said: "Honecker was probably simply worried he might catch a brick on the head in view of the political climate after the building of the Berlin Wall."

On the afternoon of his visit an anonymous caller phoned the police with a bomb threat. But a "bag with metallic contents" found outside the cemetery proved to be harmless.

When Herr Honecker drove from the cemetery into Wiebelskirchen and his parental home he was welcomed by about [illegible] Communists with red flags. But otherwise there was little excitement.

A lone leaflet distributor in front [illegible] Kuchenbergstrasse 88 was taken [illegible] temporary police custody. His leaf[illegible] accused Herr Honecker of aiding a[illegible]

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

CDU scrapes home in one Land poll, is hammered in another

The Social Democrats retained their absolute majority in Bremen and emerged as the biggest single party in Schleswig-Holstein. In Bremen, the Christian Democrats performed disastrously, dropping almost 10 percentage points and plunging from 37 seats to 25. In Schleswig-Holstein, they also lost heavily, but will retain power together with the Free Democrats, who are re-elected into both assemblies after a time without any representation. The Schleswig-Holstein election was marred by allegations of a smear campaign against the state's SPD leader, Björn Engholm, which is said to have been ordered by the state Premier, Uwe Barschel (CDU). The allegations appeared in the weekly magazine *Der Spiegel*, which Barschel has sued. In Bremen, a right-wing extremist group, Liste D, has won a seat for the first time ever in the city-state. Although the party received only 3.4 per cent of the poll in Bremen itself, it got more than 5 per cent in neighbouring Bremerhaven, enough under a local arrangement, to get a member into the assembly. Results: SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN: CDU 42.6 per cent, 33 seats (1983: 49 per cent, 39 seats); SPD 45.2, 36 (34, 37); Greens 3.9, 0 (3.6, 0); FDP 5.2, 4 (2.2, 0); SSW (Danish-oriented party) 1.5, 1 (1.3, 1); DKP (Communist) 0.2, 0 (0.1, 0); others 1.3, 0 (0, 0). Turnout, 76.6 per cent (85). BREMEN: SPD 50.5 per cent, 54 seats (1983: 51.35 per cent, 58 seats); CDU 23.44, 25 (33.31, 37); Greens 10.22, 10 (5.43, 5); FDP 10.01, 10 (4.59, 0); Liste D 3.4, 1 (0, 0); others 5.77, 0 (1.4, 0). Turnout, 75.74 per cent (79.66).



Premier Barschel (left) and SPD challenger Engholm just after the smear-campaign charge had become known.

(Photo: AP)

The Bremen and Schleswig-Holstein state assembly election results bore out the forecasts. In Bremen support for the ruling Social Democrats slipped slightly but they retained their absolute majority with relative ease.

In Schleswig-Holstein there was, in contrast, a dramatic photofinish between the Christian and Free Democrats on the one hand and the Social Democrats on the other, with the CDU and FDP winning by the shortest of short heads.

Substantial CDU losses were at least partly offset by FDP gains, with the result that CDU Premier Uwe Barschel should be able to stay in office at the head of a coalition government in Kiel.

Herr Barschel has taken a hiding but survived to face another day.

Now the CDU dikes have withstood the storm in Schleswig-Holstein the Christian Democrats have retained their absolute majority in the Bundesrat, or Upper House of the Bonn Bundestag.

If power had changed hands in Kiel the CDU/CSU would still have commanded a majority in the Bundesrat, but the CDU would have had to rely on the support of its Bavarian ally, the CSU.

Now the voting is over in Schleswig-Holstein the strange outcome is that while the result has stabilised the CDU-CSU-FDP coalition in Bonn it may exert a detrimental influence on relations between the coalition partners.

The Christian Democrats will face an even more self-assured FDP that has unquestionably benefited from the infighting between CDU and CSU.

There can be no doubt whatever that the constant bickering between Helmut Kohl and Franz Josef Strauss annoyed voters in Schleswig-Holstein and Bremen.

The silly season in Bonn, with its disputes over tax reform, Chile and Pershing missiles cast a long shadow on both elections.

No-one can say for sure whether the accusation that Premier Barschel hired private detectives to snoop on Opposition SPD leader Björn Engholm influenced the election result in Schleswig-Holstein.

The result in Bremen, where the CDU suffered even heavier losses than in Schleswig-Holstein, would seem to indicate that the influence of such accusations on voter behaviour is greatly overrated.

What came as a surprise in Bremen was less the SPD's successful defence of its absolute majority than the catastrophic decline in CDU support, for which national trends alone cannot be blamed. The CDU's nosedive to the brink of insignificance is partly the result of a lack of ideas and a leadership policy favouring colourless candidates.

There can be no doubt that the Free Democrats derived benefit from the weakness of the CDU and its candidates in staging their superb comeback to the city council.

Mayor Klaus Wedemeier should have no difficulty in running the city's affairs. He and the FDP agree on a number of points, and he won't have to rely on the support of the Greens, who also improved their strength on the council.

It is worth noting that Bremen voters in general would have nothing to do with right-wing extremist groups, but the lone DVU councillor from Bremerhaven is one too many.

Bodo Schulte

(Nordwest Zeitung, Oldenburg, 14 September 1987)

Premier sues magazine over smear-campaign allegations

Schleswig-Holstein Premier Uwe Barschel is taking legal action against the Hamburg news magazine, *Der Spiegel*; his former public-relations man, Reiner Pfeiffer; and others. The magazine quoted Herr Pfeiffer as saying Herr Barschel had ordered inland revenue officers to check SPD leader Björn Engholm's tax returns and had told private detectives to snoop on him. Herr Barschel said the story was a "tissue of lies".

Reiner Pfeiffer is said by *Der Spiegel*, the Hamburg news magazine, to have made a clean breast to its editorial staff.

He no longer wanted to help Schleswig-Holstein Premier Uwe Barschel to snoop on Opposition leader Björn Engholm.

His uneasy conscience was what prompted him to make a statement under oath on the Wednesday before the state assembly elections, taking the lid off a local Watergate.

If he had been guided solely by the dictates of his conscience he might just as well have waited until the following Monday. As it is, there can be no discounting suspicions that the main aim of his revelations was to influence the election.

On the other hand his accusations are so serious that Herr Barschel would have to resign if they were found to be true. It would then have done him no good to file charges against those making the accusations.

In retrospect that would seem only to have been an attempt to save his bacon by returning fire with blanks.

The evidence so far presented by Herr Pfeiffer and printed by *Der Spiegel* is not sufficiently convincing.

It stands and falls with how one assesses the personality of the man who was hired to think out campaign stratagems for Premier Barschel, to whom, he says, he eventually no longer owed any allegiance.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Herr Barschel's moves in his own defence carry just as little conviction. He has accused *Der Spiegel* of being unfair and of not having consulted him first.

The magazine says that simply isn't true. It says he was consulted but he had refused to comment. It is hard to imagine *Der Spiegel* making such a mistake on such a delicate matter.

Yet the alternative is equally hard to imagine.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 14 September 1987)

Results will put Chancellor Kohl under heavier pressure

Chancellor Kohl will now have an even harder time of it in Bonn. His opponents, especially Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss, the CSU leader, are sure to say: "We told you so!"

Promises of billions of marks in tax cuts and the publicity of East Berlin's leader Erich Honecker's visit to Bonn did not help.

The Chancellor's CDU, the senior partner in the Bonn coalition, took a heavy beating at the polls in Bremen and Schleswig-Holstein.

It is hard to say whether final-phase mudslinging and accusations levelled at Christian Democratic Premier Uwe Barschel upset CDU voters in Schleswig-Holstein.

They will certainly not have exerted a decisive influence on the outcome, given similarities between the results in both elections.

The CDU paid the price for Bonn coalition policies and the behaviour of the coalition parties, the CDU, CSU and FDP, annoying voters.

One of the bones of contention was the failure of the Federal government's agricultural policy, especially as Schleswig-Holstein is a predominantly rural state.

Voters there showed themselves ready to run a risk by voting a left-wing SPD to the brink of power. The Social Democrats may thus be said to have ended their travels through the vale of tears and regained their status as a serious alternative to the coalition parties in Bonn.

Even so, SPD leaders must have been dismayed to feel that they were unable to gain power in Kiel under their popular and attractive local leader, Björn Engholm.

The SPD may have retained power in Bremen, but that is a feather in Mayor Wedemeier's cap and can hardly fire the imaginations of Social Democrats in general.

If they are unable to wrest power from the CDU up north in the most favourable conditions, when and where else can they expect to do so?

Smaller parties had done well in recent polls. This time they were bound to view the results with mixed feelings.

Where the outcome is fairly self-evident, as in Bremen, voters allow themselves the luxury of lending their support to the small fry.

But where the major parties are running neck and neck, as in Schleswig-Holstein, the Free Democrats for instance can only just scrape home.

The only mistake voters can be said to have made was in Bremen, where too many votes went to right-wing extremist candidates.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 14 September 1987)

■ POLITICS

CDU moves to embrace a new populism — and takes some electoral risks

Chancellor Kohl's decision to allow the Bundeswehr's Pershing 1A missiles to be negotiated away as part of an overall disarmament deal in Geneva has brought him right into the firing line.

He has been vigorously attacked by his Bavarian coalition partners, the CSU; the FDP, although backing him, has been taking shots at him behind his back.

The Free Democrats are saying, not quite so loudly now as at first, that the Chancellor has done little more than take up their own idea.

The CSU are angry at not having first been consulted. What rubbed salt in the wound was the largely confirmed suspicion that the FDP leaders had been.

Surface tensions accurately reflect turbulence below the surface. Longstanding differences between the CSU leader, Franz Josef Strauss, and Helmut Kohl and between the CSU and the FDP are back on the boil.

They have been joined by growing tension between the Chancellor's CDU and Herr Strauss's CSU and by the Chancellor's growing mistrust of the part being played by the FDP in the Bonn coalition.

The Free Democrats are almost constantly clashing with the CSU and ought thus to side with the Chancellor, yet on minor issues they almost ignore him and join in overt or covert attacks on his authority.

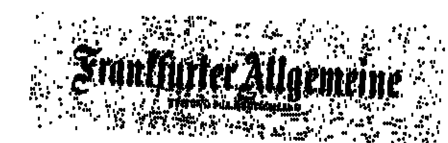
One such issue was whether demonstrators at rallies should be allowed to wear clothing that can be classified as a mask or disguise. It was an issue on which they hit out hard at the CDU leader at their party conference in Kiel.

This move may be dismissed as electioneering (the conference was held just before the Schleswig-Holstein state assembly elections), but there may be more to it than that.

The CDU and CSU are their own worst enemies, what with personal animosity between Herr Kohl and Herr Strauss and the dispute over the general direction of policy that has been smouldering between the two parties for some time.

CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler's policy line of an opening to the left of centre is seen in Munich, and not only there, are an unprincipled acceptance of the *Zeitgeist* and a kowtow toward fashionable trends in democracy.

Too many formerly entrenched CDU



stances have been abandoned in recent years for this accusation to appear entirely unfounded. The new populism continues to make headway, much to the annoyance of many CDU veterans.

These disputes are barely restrained by the natural constraint on an ideologically multi-coloured coalition to reach agreement. Political differences are too deep for that to be possible.

Herr Geissler's policy of an opening to the left is based not on a spontaneous idea but on a strategic idea. It is aimed at gaining voter support in the shifting sands of Germans who claim allegiance to emancipation and progress.

Many risks are being run. The pattern of CDU voter support could be changed. But disappointed old-style supporters whose allegiance is lost might, so the hope is, be more than compensated for by gains from the left. This is a speculative hope, to say the least.

To outsiders there seem to be increasing signs that a more realistic view of the trend is held in Munich, even though the CSU's strong words of warning may frequently make the opposite appear the case.

It is not just that the CDU, with its change of course, is abandoning a right-wing stance to which a number of new groups have promptly sought to stake their claim.

Herr Geissler's grand strategic design is no longer accurate in that he assumes the two sides of the political spectrum will consist, for at least the next five years, of the SPD and the Greens on the one hand and the conservative parties on the other.

If that were so, it might be worthwhile trying to persuade disappointed voters on the other side, particularly supporters of ex-Chancellor Schmidt, to switch allegiance to the CDU.

But Willy Brandt is no longer at the SPD's helm, and he was the mainspring for the establishment of coalitions between the SPD and the Greens.

Besides, the Greens are in the throes of infighting and increasingly subject to the whims of a fickle electoral market.

For some time, to wit: since their support decline in Hamburg last May, they have appeared to be manacled by an invisible hand. They present a downcast, despairing and unimaginative picture. They appear steadily less important.

The SPD under Hans-Jochen Vo is, in contrast, engaged in an evident attempt to appear more suited for a mi dle-of-the-road coalition and to re the support of former voters on right wing of SPD support.

The first sign of success came Hamburg, where the Social Demo regained power in coalition with FDP, Chancellor Kohl's junior coali partners in Bonn.

No matter how keen the CDU's Her Geissler, Labour Minister Blüm an Health Minister Süssmuth may be embody the *Zeitgeist*, the voters who support they seek to enlist will he their old party, the SPD, as soon as th feel they can reasonably do so. That clearly be sooner, not later.

Herr Strauss is undeniably a man to handle and an inconvenient for today's CDU, but there can be gainsaying that the existence of both counts for a substantial proportion potential CDU voter allegiance.

The policy of reciprocal snubs th is currently practised weighs heavily on their supporters and encourages the trend toward "internal emigration."

Unless the CDU and CSU in general, and their respective leaders in particular, change the style of dealings with each other and coordinate their political strategy more effectively, they will not hold on to the reins of power for long.

They stand to jointly forfeit power and power once lost will be lost for some time.

Fritz Ullrich Fack

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 7 September 1987)

FDP riding high at centre of the spectrum

Free Democrats have often been on the edge of political extinction. But at the moment they are riding a wave of electoral fortune.

While their political competitors — both coalition allies and adversaries — are stumbling from one mistake of their own making to the next, the Liberals seem to be making giant strides from success to success.

FDP leader Martin Bangemann, Economic Affairs Minister in Bonn, has arguably grown a little too self-confident and plans to proclaim 1987 the Year of the Liberals after the Schleswig-Holstein and Bremen state assembly elections.

The Free Democrats confidently expect to be returned to both assemblies. FDP general secretary Helmut Haussmann already has visions of the "party of individualists" boosting its electoral support to 15 per cent in the years ahead.

Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher had similar visions some years ago.

The Free Democrats are understandably jubilant, but will their luck hold, given their limited electoral support (and much greater political influence) and record of political brinksmanship?

Is is not fair to say that they owe their success to the others' weakness rather than to their own strength?

In the 1970s the Free Democrats tried hard to present themselves as a party with a programme of its own, yet despite distinctive policies their support was never sufficient to enable them to sleep easily.

On more than one occasion they owed their power and survival to the fact that one or other of the major parties needed their coalition support to form a government.

The FDP today is no more convincing than it was in the 1970s where policies are concerned. Where manpower is concerned it is clearly weaker.

In switching allegiance from Helmut Schmidt and the Social Democrats to Helmut Kohl and the Christian Democrats in Bonn in 1982 the FDP switched coalition partners and voter support, as it had done in the past.

Ever since the Social Democrats have been seen to be parting company with the ideas of Helmut Schmidt the FDP, which still enjoys strictly limited bedrock support, has gained the votes it needs to ensure success from floating CDU/CSU voters.

The Free Democrats are so remote from the Social Democrats today that they only mention the marriage of convenience with the SPD in Hamburg when there is no chance of avoiding the issue.

They seem motivated by a tacit fear that Hamburg could be held against them as yet another instance of a turncoat FDP.

Herr Bangemann and Count Lambsdorff, Economic Affairs Minister under Helmut Schmidt, are drawing a clearer-than-usual distinction between the Free Democrats and the SPD.

No-one can begrudge a party success that is based on its own achievements. But the Free Democrats would be misleading themselves if they were to overlook the fact that in recent years they have benefited from both fears of SPD-Green coalitions and the constant jibes made by a jealous Franz Josef Strauss.

His CSU has always been an ideal vote-winner for the FDP because it is never satisfied with coalition terms and always makes extra demands that take coalitions to the brink of confrontation. There will be no change on this in the wake of the FDP's Kiel party conference, at which it staunchly and justifiably resisted CSU demands for tougher legislation on protest demonstrations.

It remains to be seen whether Herr Bangemann's bold conjecture will come true and the two major parties will break up because their day is over and large numbers of "sensible" people will join the Liberals, the "party of common sense."

For the time being such speculation is mere wishful thinking.

What *is* true is that the two major parties are in the throes of a crisis because the sociological structure of their electoral support is changing, traditional ties are growing less binding and voters are responding with greater flexibility and mobility.

Proof has yet to be provided of the inference that the two major parties, who still enjoy the support of over 80 per cent of voters, are in a process of irreversible decline.

For all their inherent weaknesses the CDU and the SPD have ensured a substantial degree of political stability since the war.

So it is hard to imagine that a growing number of voters might favour their break-up into a plethora of smaller interest groups along Weimar lines.

The FDP, which is fond of styling itself the party of the centre, can but hope that the CDU/CSU and the SPD will continue for a while to be racked by infighting.

If they once were to realise that this bickering does them more harm than good and that political success lies in the middle of the road, and nowhere else, the FDP's leeway might suddenly shrink to an alarming extent.

Ludwig Harms

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 September 1987)

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abetting the murder of at East German refugees.

The East Berlin leader and his motorcade drew up in front of his parental home, painted an unassuming pale green, at 5.21 p.m. A few onlookers applauded, others catcalled.

Herr Honecker shook hands with a few people on his side of the police barricades and then went inside for coffee and a chat with his sister.

They came out into the garden for a moment for the benefit of TV cameras perched on the church tower.

He may have recalled a walk round the garden as a seven-year-old in which his father had first tried to explain to him, beneath an apple tree, the difference between capitalism and socialism. *dpa*

(Kieler Nachrichten, 11 September 1987)

■ PERSPECTIVE

Ten years since German terrorism claimed its most notable victim

Allgemeine Zeitung

It was ten years ago, on September 5 1977, that West Germany's wave of terror attacks by the left-wing RAF (Red Army Faction) came to a dramatic climax.

The terror group which had formed around Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhoff had been holding the nation in a state of siege for several years.

Up until this point, since 1970, 28 people had died as victims of terror, 107 had narrowly escaped being murdered, 93 had been wounded in bombings and shootings, 162 had been taken as hostages, 10 cases of arson had caused heavy damage, 25 bombings had occurred, and 35 bank robberies had netted 5.4 million marks.

But the drama which began in September 1977 was to overshadow everything else — before or since.

A group led by Siegfried Hausner which had already murdered the president of the Dresdner Bank, Jürgen Ponto, in April of 1977, and Buback, the Federal Attorney General and two of his escorts in July, now kidnapped the head of West Germany's two employers' organisations, Hanns-Martin Schleyer.

Knowing that nervous public figures were now using bodyguards, they thought out a ploy to get at Schleyer.

As his 450 Mercedes, followed by his security guards' car, turned into a quite side street near his Cologne home, the terrorists rolled a baby's pram into its path.

His driver did what most people would do. He braked sharply. Five men leapt out from hiding and stormed the car. They opened fire on the guards giving them no chance to defend themselves.

Schleyer was dragged out of his car and bundled into a Volkswagen bus. By the time residents had realised what had happened, it was all over.

The four dead on the road and in the cars showed clearly enough what had happened.

A letter was sent to the authorities by the RAF claiming responsibility for the attack. This put an end to speculation about the identity of the attackers. The motive behind the kidnapping also became clear. The letter demanded the release of eleven RAF members serving time in the top security prison in Stammheim near Stuttgart.

The attempt to blackmail the government was supposed to end RAF frustration at having so many people in prison, particularly the ring-leader trio of Gudrun Ensslin, Andreas Baader and Carl Raspe.

The letter demanded several million marks and a safe passage to a country of their choice, or else they would kill Schleyer. They named Yemen, Somalia and Vietnam as possible destinations.

The events of the following weeks were to hold West Germany, as well as other countries, in the grip of a feverish suspense. Despite receiving many clues from the public, the authorities kept running into blind allies.

Later it turned out that the police had overlooked one of the hottest tips they had received. A courageous motorist had followed a suspicious looking VW bus to a highway ramp. If his description of the bus had been followed up, it would most probably have led to Schleyer's temporary "prison" in a Cologne sky-scraper.

Instead of having a dramatic rescue, the kidnapping turned into drawn-out negotiations between the Federal Criminal Investigation Office and the RAF, with the occasional involvement of a dubious Swiss lawyer.

Regularly delivered videos taken of Schleyer and hand-written letters from him proved to the government that he was still alive. However the negotiations didn't gain any ground for the kidnappers or for the Government, which wanted to rescue Schleyer's life but couldn't afford to give into the kidnappers' demands.

The situation remained unchanged until 13 October when three Arab men and one woman hijacked a German Lufthansa Boeing 707 on its way from Palma de Majorca to Frankfurt.

The hijackers forced the jet to fly to Dubai via Rome. After they landed there they shot the captain, Jürgen Schumann. They were demanding the release of the RAF prisoners, and two of their own comrades imprisoned in Turkey.

This has remained the only time that the RAF managed to coordinate effectively an international effort in their so-called anti-imperialist struggle.

The jet finally landed in Mogadishu. Both the 82 passengers and the five-man crew went through the ordeal of waiting while the hijackers negotiated by radio with Hans Wischnewski, a West German minister who enjoyed a good reputation among Arabs in general.

44 days of captivity, and then death . . . Hanns-Martin Schleyer. (Photo: dpa)

The West Germans had obtained permission from the Somalian president to use their own *Grenzschutzgruppe 9* troops — GSG9 for short.

It was Wischnewski's task to stall the hijackers while the commando unit got ready to storm the aircraft.

He talked and talked, with the result that the aggressive Arabs gradually became worn down.

Shortly before the midnight on 18 October, the specially trained commandos followed up a diversionary manoeuvre with the storming of the aircraft. With the exception of the woman, all the Arabs were shot dead.

Events now happened in rapid succession. In the Stammheim top security prison Ensslin, Baader and Raspe, heard about the Mogadishu failure and committed suicide with pistols smuggled into their cells.

Then, the following day, the body of the 62 year-old Hanns-Martin Schleyer was found in the boot of a car in a quiet residential street in Müllhausen.

He had been in capitivity 44 days and he had been finished with a bullet through the base of the skull. The details of where and under which circumstances he was murdered have still to be cleared up. The body count at the end of this terrorist-drama amounted to 13 dead.

Following Schleyer's death the criminal investigators were given the green light. The authorities had eleven pictures on television and in the papers of people suspected of having been involved in 62 year-old's kidnapping.

But it took a long time, before the hunt had any success. Most of the terrorists were caught and sentenced to life imprisonment.

The terrorists' attempt to blackmail ran aground on the government's resolve not to give in. Since then a similar operation of this kind has not been attempted.

The RAF is still active and draws new recruits from the left-wing sources. They still try to spring imprisoned members, but have had no success.

They have a new death list an have struck again. In fact, 1986 rivalled 1977 as a Year of the Terrorist. Karry, the Hesse Economics Minister and Beckurts, the industrialist, were assassinated. So was liberal diplomat von Braunmühl.

So the group still poses a serious challenge to the democratic constitutional state.

Günther Leicher

(Allgemeine Zeitung, Mainz, 4 September 1987)

Continued from page 1

al President and Chancellor in East Germany before long. In return he has made certain commitments on ties with Bonn.

The price he has had to pay for equal treatment will make it hard for future East Berlin leaders to turn the clock back and *impose fresh restrictions on the extent of* cooperation now agreed by Bonn and East Berlin.

The Berlin Wall is still intact, as ugly as ever, and despite any assistance Bonn has been able to provide, life in East Germany continues to be dull and gloomy.

Herr Honecker's Bonn visit was not a last-minute reprieve for world peace either, despite the impression the East German leader sought to give. Tenacity and a sober, level-headed approach continue to be advisable.

The way Herr Kohl and Herr Honecker made no bones about the points on which they differ but the points they hold in common was more than impressive.

One is tempted to recall the discredited term "detente." It truly was a historic working visit. *Adrian Zielcke*

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 9 September 1987)

■ GERMAN-GERMAN TRADE

Asian competition, Soviet pressure, hurting East

RHEINISCHER MERKUR
Christ und Welt

Pressure from the Soviet Union and competition from the Far East are hitting East Germany's trade with West Germany.

East Germany had been earning a lot of foreign currency exporting clothing, textiles and items such as beer, toy dolls and refrigerators to West Germany.

But Far Eastern products are making their mark. They are are better designed, better adjusted to market requirements, and their delivery dates are better.

In addition, the Soviet Union is now trying to get East Germany to cut the Soviet bilateral deficit by exporting to it — and the Russians want those very products that sell best in the West.

This is why the complaint by the West German textiles industry that jobs will be lost if the East Germans are given any more import concessions is not to be taken too seriously.

Last year East Germany did not even use its textile quotas to the full — not by a long shot. The days when East Germany could supply West Germany with cheap shirts, women's tights, bed sheets, writing materials, refrigerators, toy dolls and beer are over.

East Germany's exports to the Federal Republic of finished textiles, together with garments, the most important item in intra-German trade, dropped by four per cent in 1986. This compares with a growth in 1984 of 14 per cent.

The situation has changed so much that the amount of West German textiles and garments being exported to East Germany is very slightly on the increase.

A sixth of the imports by the department store chain of Horten come from East Germany. In 1983 purchases increased by 30 per cent and in 1984 by 40 per cent, but now the order figure is constant.

Purchases from East Germany made by the giant mail-order house Quelle dropped last year from 13 to 11 per cent.

The drop in the dollar exchange rate has had its effect. The results of competition from the Far East can be seen, despite the duty-free advantages East Germany enjoys in trade with West Germany.

East Germany is having to realise that the price factor in consumer durables and goods is not enough to be successful on Western markets. Far East products are way ahead in design, their adjustment to market requirements and delivery dates.

Experts now point out another weakness for East Germany in intra-German trade: big brother Moscow.

The Soviet Union is bringing pressure to bear on East Germany to reduce the Soviet deficit in bilateral trade which at the end of 1986 added up to 3.6bn transferable roubles (approximately 44.7bn dollars).

The Russians demand an increase in goods from East Germany and, of all items, those that the East Germans can sell best of all on markets in the West.

It is not surprising then that East Berlin could not fulfil entirely its quotas in intra-German trade. One expert said that their list of suitable items had grown smaller. "They are now having to pay for having neglected the consumer goods sector for so long."

That cannot be changed quickly for, with the decline of exports, East Berlin is now short of hard currency.

According to the West German Institute for Economic Research (DIW) East Germany has always ended up with a foreign trade surplus (since 1982) but this surplus is now appreciably smaller.

In 1986 the surplus amounted to something more than a billion valuta marks (units of account). In the previous year it had been 6.79 billion.

There has already been a reversal in intra-German trade. Between 1960 and 1984 it increased sevenfold. Last year the trade volume dropped to 15.2 billion units of account (1 unit of account = DM1), a decline of nine per cent. If the drop in West German and East German trade was equally spread last year, the trend is now for it go to East Germany's disadvantage.

In the January-June period of this year East Germany recorded a further drop of nine per cent. West Germany's trade to East Germany stagnated.

This is particularly bitter for East Germany, notably for the exports of consumer goods. The Federal Republic with a 20 per cent share of East Germany's exports was second to the Soviet Union (export share of 40 per cent) and the most important among trading partners in the West with 60 per cent of the trade.

In some trading sectors such as textiles, garments and furniture, the Federal Republic's share was greater.

It is painful when market shares are lost. In 1970 West Germany's imports of garments from East Germany was equal to imports from Yugoslavia. In 1984 they were a little more than a half of Yugoslavia's garments exports to West Germany.

In 1970 the Federal Republic imported twice as much from the developing countries of the Far East than from East Germany. In 1984 it was nine times more. From Hong Kong alone imports of garments were almost three times as much.

This loss of market shares is all the more significant because the most important export item from East Germany, oil products, has lost out in importance to a considerable extent due to the drop in oil prices. There was a drop in Federal Republic purchases last year of 46 per cent.

A DIW study warned of this: "The high surplus and the rapid increase in purchases have given a false picture of East Germany's productivity and the abilities for expansion in trade between the two Germanies."

Critics have always emphasised that intra-German trade could not measure up to that of developed countries.

The most important export items on both sides by a considerable margin are raw materials and consumer goods. Machinery and electro-technology make up only 20 of the Federal Republic's exports to East Germany.

If the signs are not deceptive there is a lot of re-thinking going on in East Berlin. Supplies of West German capital goods recorded by far and away the largest increase last year, 41 per cent. This sector's share in the total trade increased to 27 per cent.

The emphasis was on mechanical equipment for East Germany's consumer goods industry. Parallel to this there was an increase in supplies of consumer goods, notably shoes and garments.

To some extent East Germany has made up for the drop in oil products exports and textiles by greater exports of machinery, electro-technical products, precision engineering and optics.

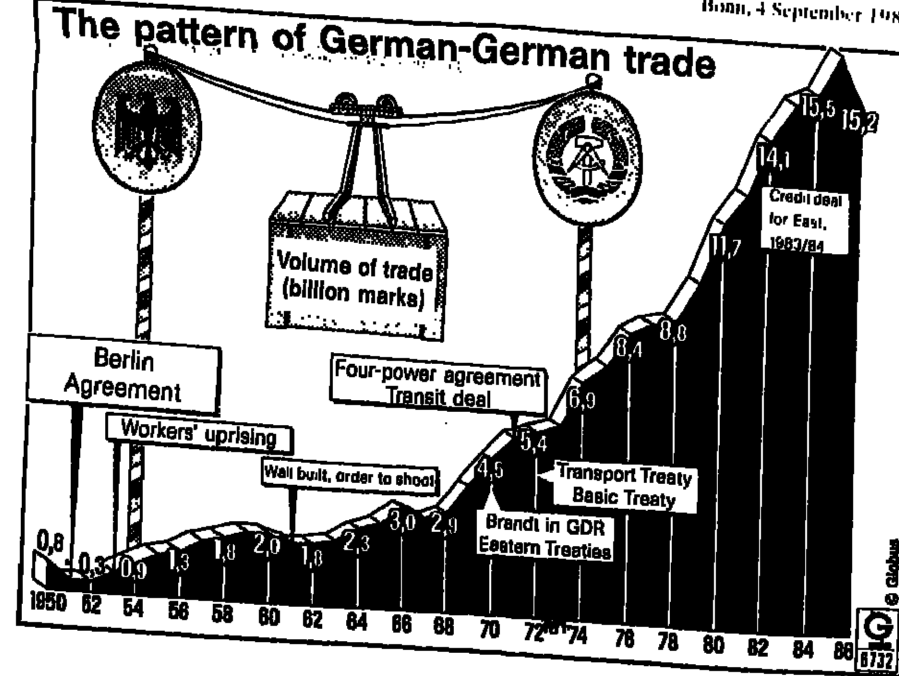
Bonn is laying great store on discussions with Günter Mittag, secretary for economic affairs in the SED central committee. An increase in German-German commercial and industrial cooperation could accelerate the drastic change of East German exports to high-value products and at the same time reduce the considerable difference in productivity between the two German states.

A start in this direction has already been made. A production line for Volkswagen engines with a capacity of 290,000 units anually should go into operation next year with 100,000 engines being handed over to VW in payment for the plant.

Over the past few years there has also been a considerable increase in processing contracts, notably for the foodstuffs industry, from West German firms.

The greatest success has been achieved, however, by shoe manufacturers Salamander. East Germany is not only the West German shoe industry's best customer but Salamander produce shoes at a number of factories in East Germany for the domestic market, and now has a greater share of the market there than it has in West Germany.

Margarita Chiari
(Rheinischer Merkur Christ und Welt, Bonn, 4 September 1987)



Ideology take[s] back seat to capitalist cas[h]

East Germany is very sensitive a[bout] its national sovereignty. It wants be recognised by everyone as a full fledged independent state.

Yet this does not count for m[uch] when it comes to trade with capital[ist] West Germany. West Germany ce[ases] to be strictly foreign in matters of c[om]merce.

Trade between the two Germanys follows separate rules. The B[erlin] Agreement of 1951 set down the basis for the exchange of goods, serv[ices] and payments.

Deliveries of West German goods [to] East Germany and the reverse are n[ot] regarded as exports in the sense of fo[r]eign trade and payments legislation.

Payments are not made in marks from either side, but in units of account. One unit of account corresponds to the purchasing power of one mark.

The units of account are not convertible. East Germany cannot use its to buy from say, France or Italy. They must be used to obtain goods from West Germany.

There are advantages in intra-Germ[an] trade for both sides. From the Cold W[ar] until the present the Federal Republic h[as] been able to use the flow of goods fro[m] the Federal Republic as an "econom[ic] lever" over the "material interests" of th[e] East German leadership to ease huma[n] conditions in East Germany.

For East Germany intra-Germ[an] trade has substantial advantage[s] ... ies and agricultural products, that would have great difficulty disposing e[lsewhere]. It can use barter transactio[ns] by supplying industrial goods agai[nst] consumer goods; and it can balance short-term production bottlenecks [in] intra-German trade.

In 1968 Bonn added an additi[onal] agreement, the Swing, to the Be[rlin] Agreement. This made it easier for E[ast] Germany, chronically short of overse[as] currency, to build up an overdraft.

There is constant haggling about th[e] Swing when there are difficulties in re[l]ations between the two states. Things like obstruction to transit traffic going through to West Berlin from West Germany and the increase of obligatory amounts to be exchanged when crossing into East Germany are answered by substantial discussions as to whether this should be revenged by cancellation of the Swing.

This link-up worked in the 1970s (East Germany cancelled regulations obliging pensioners to exchange specific amounts on visits to East Germany), b[ut] it is no longer effective in the 1980s an[d] the Swing was reduced.

Then it was brought into play again [in] 1985 when East Germany halted th[e] flow of asylum-seekers via East Berli[n] and promptly over DM850m was mad[e] available.

East Germany is, through trade with West Germany, a sleeping member of the European Community. Within the context of intra-German trade East Germany can supply goods to other Community countries duty-free and exempt from agricultural levies.

There is an additional protocol to the Treaties of Rome laying down that intra-German trade shall be regarded as internal Community trade.

Rita Knobel-Ulrich
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 6 September 1987)

■ TRANSPORT

End of Europe's road haulage barriers in 1992 both welcomed and feared

Frankfurter Rundschau

A uniform internal road transport market is to be established in the European Community by 1992.

German hauliers are fighting what seems a losing battle against the move. They say they will be put at a disadvantage because of higher costs and will, therefore, be undercut by hauliers from other countries.

But the Confederation of German Industry (BDI), favours changes of some sort. It has been a constant critic of what it regards as a comfortable system of controls designed to featherbed the hauliers and force users to pay more.

Hauliers say that opening up the market will be a nightmare. French and Dutch firms will undercut them.

German hauliers pay the highest taxes and are subject to the strictest welfare provisions and safety precautions.

Harmonisation of these differences in competitive factors is urgently needed, and not from above but from below.

On 22 May 1985 the European Court of Justice started the ball rolling by ruling that citizens of European Community countries must be entitled to tender for haulage contracts throughout the Common Market.

Transport Ministers were left with no choice but to agree, on 14 November 1985, that a free market in road haulage was to be set up in the European Community by 1992.

German hauliers have since concentrated on efforts to prevent what they see as a surrender of the national market system.

An ingenious system of concessions, quotas and rates that are subject to official approval has so far largely kept annoying competition at bay.

Trade and industry, as users of the hauliers' services, don't like the current system. "It just has to change," says Michael Lippoldt of BDI.

His aim is to "eliminate the intolerable discrepancies which have been hurting German industry."

The BDI has for decades been strongly opposed to the serried ranks of German hauliers, whose system of controls dates back to the crisis-torn days of the Weimar Republic.

As part of emergency regulations to safeguard the economy a road haulage ordinance was proclaimed on 6 October 1931. Road haulage has been subject to administrative controls ever since.

Every truck operating in long-distance road haulage, as opposed to local carriers, must be licensed. The number of vehicles is subject to a quota. And rates are fixed, initially having been pegged to rail freight rates.

The aim of these arrangements was to protect the railways from too keen competition on the roads. It hasn't been a success.

Last year 350 million tonnes of freight, as against 335.6 million in 1986, were carried by road. A mere 277 million tonnes were carried by rail.

Rail freight last year was down nearly six per cent on the previous year, mainly due to recession in the coal and steel industries, which between them account for over half the tonnage of goods carried by rail.

Yet administrative regulations continue to govern freight traffic. Rates are no longer fixed; a bandwidth is merely prescribed. But peak and minimum rates must still be approved by the Transport Ministry in Bonn.

A government agency with a payroll of 900, the Federal Road Haulage Department, Cologne, makes sure that hauliers keep to the rules.

Yet the BDI's Lippoldt says the rules are so complicated that they have long ceased to be comprehensible.

So it is, perhaps, no wonder that controls are not always effective. Hauliers and customers are already testing the free market that is officially to be introduced in five years' time.

Some of them are agreeing to terms of contract and, particularly, rates that are officially prohibited. Loopholes have always existed where trucks cross frontiers.

"All you need," says Willi Hammer, co-owner of an Aachen road haulage company, "is to drive once round the customs shed. Then you're abroad." It might not be legal but it has been done for years.

The BDI notes with pleasure, as a minor success in the struggle against the proliferation of freight rates, that since June road haulage rates have been based on road rather than rail mileage — much to many a haulier's chagrin.

"When branch lines were shut down in, say, the Black Forest," Hammer recalls, "rates were chargeable for distances of 100 or 150km even though towns were only 20km apart."

Those were the days. Road hauliers are now keen to stem the tide of European Community liberalisation, arguing that European competitors would then enjoy unfair advantages.

The BDF's Kreft says German hauliers' costs are between 10 and 15 per cent higher. The European Commission, in its report to the Council of Ministers, agreed that conditions differed from country to country.

Road tax varies, for instance. Last year a German haulier paid 4,335 Ecus, or DM9,230, in road tax for a 38-tonner. Dutch truckers paid only 1,514 Ecus, or little more than a third of their German competitors' road tax bill.

Fuel costs vary from country to country too. Oil duty per 1,000 litres cost German hauliers 203 Ecus, as against 75 Ecus in the Netherlands.

There are further differences in welfare provisions and technical standards and safety regulations.

BDF officials thus cling to a pledge given by Chancellor Kohl, who assured them that "the transition to a European transport market will depend on elimination of competitive distortion."

In other words, there will be no liberalisation without harmonisation.

Since the end of June, however, hauliers' confidence in the Federal government has been shaken. On 24/25 June the Council of Transport Ministers approved a further increase in the number of licences for trucks free to trade throughout the European Community.

It was a 54-per-cent increase to 11,535 units.

The Ministers failed to go further than fine words on the competitive disadvantage of well over 10 per cent from which German hauliers suffer.

In agreeing to the Council's decision Bonn Transport Minister Jürgen Warnke had "called the credibility of the Federal government into question."

Herr Warnke is no longer the hauliers' unmitigated bogyman. On closer scrutiny the BDF noted that he had achieved a limited measure of success in championing their interests.

The toll of the juggernauts

The number of foreign trucks that use every kilometre of road every day*

West Germany	276
Holland	253
France	238
Belgium	193
Austria	133
Italy	100
Denmark	92
Luxem.	71
Britain	68
Switz.	23
Ireland	2

* only motorways and main roads (est. av. load per truck: 8 tonnes)

© Globus

He had, for instance, successfully challenged the original intention of automatically increasing the number of licences valid throughout the Community by 40 per cent a year until 1992.

BDF president Klemens Weber has generously stated that Herr Warnke still has an opportunity of "improving his score" at the next, autumn session of European Community Transport Ministers, until when the BDF would refrain from spectacular protest moves.

In their bid to stem the European tide road hauliers are, for once, in agreement with the railwaymen's union (GdED), whose general secretary Ernst Haar says road haulage will increase sixfold by 1992.

As the railways stand to lose between DM400m and DM800m a year in freight revenue Haar recommends postponement by the heads of government of the deadline until such time as competitive conditions have been harmonised.

Regardless of official statements by their spokesmen, hauliers have long started to prepare for the deadline. They are banking on the latest in data processing to ensure that they don't fall behind the competition, especially Dutch and French.

LOG, short for logistical optimisation of goods transport chains, is a communications system the development of which has been backed by the Federal Research Ministry.

Its aim is to enable forwarders to react more flexibly to demand. Cologne business studies specialist Professor Wolf-Rüdiger Bretzke sounds an almost lyrical note.

Once a haulier can offer his customer "delivery of parts to the assembly line to

Continued on page 8

■ FINANCE

Growth of service industries relentlessly changing an industrial society

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Greens and Alternatives are clamouring for a phase-out of industrial society. They haven't realised that that has been happening for years.

West Germany is being increasingly dominated by service industries. In 1970, manufacturing accounted for 48.3 per cent of gross national product in real terms. Last year that was down to 42 per cent.

Over the same period, service industries have gone from 20 per cent to 26 per cent of GNP.

Last year the total income of private households in West Germany after tax and pension contributions and excluding unearned income, was DM1,250bn, three times as much as in 1970.

As a result, most people have all the consumer durables they want, cars, colour TV sets, video cassette recorders, refrigerators, freezers and automatic washing machines.

Wages and salaries therefore look for other outlets: long paid holidays are an invitation to visit far-off countries. The tourist trade is booming.

After the holidays, it is mother's 60th birthday. That was once organised within the family, but today, many people use a party service.

Lots of parties and holidays mean too much eating and drinking, which leads to fatness. Fitness centres (they used to be called gymnasiums) and saunas provide one way of getting back into shape.

The service industries keep growing at industry's expense. This realignment has led to changes in the flow of investment. Real capital investment in the service sector trebled between 1970 and 1986.

In manufacturing industry capital investment has remained virtually stable during this period.

German industry may have weak links here and there, but on balance it compares well with its competitors, and its strong position is the reason why Germans can increasingly afford to make use of the service trades.

This is readily apparent from a glance at foreign trade figures. Were it not for a bumper export surplus, Germans could not afford to spend DM45bn a year on foreign travel.

Six weeks holiday with pay per year is the average for wage and salary-earners these days, and that too is a result of the extraordinary growth in productivity.

Industrial productivity in particular has increased to a tremendous degree, arguably tenfold since the turn of the century, whereas it has less than doubled in clerical work.

We owe the transition to a service society to the progress industry has made. The service sector does not cater solely for private demand, such as medical care, banking and insurance, education, science and the arts, legal advice and accountancy.

Industry is also making growing use of the service trades. A survey by the DIW economic research institute, Berlin, shows production-oriented service trades to be the real winners in the structural change of the economy.

In many firms redundancies in the manufacturing sector have been accompanied by the creation of new jobs in the service sector, such as technical, administrative, health and social services.

According to the DIW survey over one person in three employed in an administrative capacity worked in manufacturing industry — and two out of three in technical services.

In a nutshell, fewer and fewer factory workers get their hands dirty while more and more do desk jobs. Modern technology has made a crucial contribution toward this trend.

Many firms attach growing importance to R & D expenditure, which has assumed the proportion of an increasingly essential immaterial investment.

Immaterial investment in categories such as R & D, software and staff training is gaining steadily in importance as companies prepare for the future.

This is shown in a survey by the IW economic research institute, Cologne, indicating that companies have come to realise that R & D know-how can be harnessed to boost productivity more effectively than by means of the classical factors of production: labour and capital.

R & D is mainly the preserve of scientists, development engineers and specially qualified technicians.

The survey shows their special qualifications, in keeping with many other first-time qualifications, to be growing steadily more outdated as product and production cycles grow shorter.

Firms have no choice but to adjust to this change. They are investing more and more heavily in R & D and in further training for their staff.

In 1985 German industry spent over DM40bn on R & D, as against DM11bn in 1972.

That amounts to annual growth rate of roughly 10 per cent, which is substantially higher than the overall growth rate in net industrial investment.

In other words, an increasingly large proportion of investment in the future is ploughed into the immaterial sector.

This trend is particularly apparent in technology-intensive industries such as chemicals, drugs, motors, precision and optical engineering, electronics and electrical engineering.

The institute singles out trends at Siemens, where in the past three years DM14bn has been invested in R & D and a further DM1.1bn in further training for staff.

Net capital investment lagged well behind this figure, totalling DM5.7bn in contrast.

R & D expenditure is felt to be the classic input factor of technological progress, resulting in the introduction of attractive new products and production processes.

They in turn lead to fresh investment and the creation of new jobs.

Now immaterial and service factors are exerting an increasingly decisive influence on new products, the distinction between material goods and immaterial services is growing steadily more doubtful.

Changing society, says the Confederation of German Industry (BDI), is not bound for a post-industrial society.

It will be a society in which the industrial and service sectors are increasingly integrated.

Paul Bellinghausen

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, Bonn, 4 September 1987)

Continued from page 7

the minute, using the latest technology and comprehensive data processing systems, then that is surely a development that deserves the greatest attention."

At the public service and transport workers' union (ÖTV) this kind of technological scenario does not trigger jubilation. The union fears that working conditions for staff employed in the trade will deteriorate.

The ÖTV's Wolfgang Baars takes a dim view of CIT, short for computer-integrated trucking.

Many firms have already reduced stock to a bare minimum and rely instead on exact delivery of parts by extremely flexible and constantly controllable hauliers.

The hauliers are increasingly becoming loners. Thirty years ago nine out of 10 long-distance trucks were manned by a driver and his mate. "Now," Baars says, "nine out of 10 drivers have been made redundant."

The trend is toward longer hours, closer deadlines and increasingly fierce competition from the ranks of the unemployed, with the result that a single driver now "rushes from place to place round the clock."

The Herborn tanker accident (in which a tanker crashed into an ice-cream parlour) shed a bright and unpleasant light on drivers' working conditions.

As a result the BDF had to admit that conditions were, at times, intolerable.

The outcome of competition was all too often decided by evasion of and fiddling with regulations rather than by better performance.

Drivers not only drive too fast and too long: they are also admitted to drive vehicles that are not always in strict conformity with road safety regulations.

Even so, there will soon be even more trucks on German roads — and well before 1992.

Prognos, the Basle market research institute, forecasts lower rail and inland waterway freight volume this year. Both have been badly hit by the coal and steel industry crisis and by the decline in transport demand for petroleum products.

Road haulage in contrast will continue to record above-average growth rates this year, reaching a record 363 million tonnes.

Once even larger juggernauts — 40-tonners — arrive in the derestricted 1990s German taxpayers will have an extra bill to foot as well.

Maintenance of the 8,500km of autobahns and 32,000km of other trunk roads will cost an extra DM200m to DM300m a year, say Bonn Transport Ministry officials.

Thomas Glöckner

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 29 August 1987)

■ THE MOTOR INDUSTRY

Inflatable-on-impact safety airbags put through paces

DIE WELT

Daimler-Benz has no new models on show at the Frankfurt Motor Show. Instead, it is relying on safety features to make an impact.

A simulated crash accompanied by a commentary shows driver and passenger getting instant protection from giant airbags inflated in a fraction of a second upon impact.

The firm's promotion of safety is a smart move: it is aimed at above all, BMW, which has two new models at Frankfurt, the coupé Z1, which sits in front of an artificial, thundering waterfall; and the 750i, the only German 12-cylinder car.

BMW has made a feature of the various development stages of its new models — and certainly recouped a little of its development outlay — by exhibiting at three shows to reveal progress and thereby attract publicity.

The projects were announced in Paris, the completed vehicles were unveiled in Geneva, and now in Frankfurt, the production models are on show.

The other major German manufacturers had played their trump cards in the course of the year and had nothing really new to show at Frankfurt, so this time round BMW automatically slipped into the role of fêted star in the home game involving the country's most important industrial sector.

There are a record number of exhibitors, 1,776 from 32 counties in an exhibition area of 240,000 square metres. It is expected that over the 10 days of the exhibition more than a million visitors will turn up.

The exhibitors include the small, the loners and the great. This means the individualists, the creators of unconventional cars of special appeal, produced in small numbers.

Former Audi engineer Walter Treser developed on his own his two-seater with a 130 hp four-valve engine from Wolfsburg.

He skilfully exploited the possibilities of state support from the Scientific Research Ministry. He got Minister Riesenhuber enthusiastic over a lightweight aluminium framework with plastic bodywork slotted into it.

The solid roof of the small car can be swung back and lowered behind the driver's seat. Treser has taken out a 20-year patent for his idea.

The Berlin Senate was a second source of cash he tapped for his coupé. He built a production shed in Berlin and called the sports car "Avus."

The name sounds like the old Avus Race Track in the former German capital, but it is the abbreviations, in fact, of "Aluminium-Verbund-Struktur" (Composite aluminium structure).

The car body and the building process have caused astonishment among established manufacturers. The drive and cooling elements with air inlet ports in front of the rear wheels are original.

The car floor and body of the new car will be "galvanised together" from an aluminium framework and two layers of synthetic material in a computer-controlled machine, looking like a waffle iron, especially built for the job.

The car floor is completely of plastic, the underneath especially smooth for the best aerodynamic results.

This attractive small car will be sold via a limited number of Volkswagen dealers.

Treser said in a *Die Welt* interview: "I set up the firm in Ingolstadt in 1982 to handle the development of exclusive special parts and models based on Audi and VW. It was the first step on the way to realising my old dream of building my own car. I am proud that over the years I have given the motor industry a few leads for further development of the motor car."

Ten years ago Hans-Albert Zender began designing a bucket-seat sports car in a garage. Today he is one of the most well-known tuners and producers of spoilers and tail fins in the country. His futuristic car design with "Vision 1-2-3" made his stand in Hall 9 an eye-catcher.

The topical design is more aggressive than a Ferrari, more shallow than a Lamborghini and as safe as a Porsche 928S. He has borrowed the undercarriage design from Porsche.

Zender does not talk about prices yet. They should be well above the Isdera, however, of which five are built annually.

The Isdera Spider 0331 with a 2.3 cc engine and a maximum speed of 235 kilometres per hour costs DM108,000.

While the industry generally talks about how many hundred thousand cars must be produced per year as a basic mimimum for a motor car manufacturer, the smallest German manufacturer, Eberhard Schulz from Leonberg, is in the black producing just a few cars a year.

Erich Bitter, a styling aesthete from Schwelm, has had many problems with finance in the past. He is a small series manufacturer and almost went bankrupt. He has built cars for 25 years on a solid Opel basis and is now making a comeback, developing beautiful car bodies.

He strives for symmetry of line with every model. He also tries to get the exact blend of extras and high performance in his cars. In Europe the new models will cost between DM75,000 and DM80,000.

Apart from technical brilliance, computerised information and industriousness the halls of this year's motor show blind with glamour and glitter. For some years the show wa a rather plain and honest affair when the industry was voluntarily being moderate and defensive because of attacks from environmental protectionists. For years on end Frankfurt was a review of the car industry for motorists, cool, low-key and objective, and a show-window of engineering ideas. This time the car was again the centre of attraction and again beautiful girls were to be seen on almost every stand, to look after trade visitors and as models for the photographers.

On the Peugeot stand a dark-haired model in a dress with a plunging neckline snuggled up, kitten-like, on the car body under arc-lights.

Girls in pearl costumes, revealing more than they cover, drew photographers to an Italian designer's stand, and long-legged supple-moving ladies with large, romantic eyes decorated rather boring models with conventional extras.

Demure girls were on display everywhere, even on major manufacturers' stands.

The men of action, the big names in the industry, marched out as once did Henry Ford or Giovanni Agnelli. This *time Lee Iacocca held court.*

Chrysler boss Iacocca, an angular man, tried to get into the European, particularly the German market, by a personal appearance.

The market will not be attacked by the Chrysler Le Baron, but an Iacocca car. Perhaps this is the only chance for a model that is not particularly technically impressive.

Iacocca made jokes in front of the TV cameras, praising the extraordinary virtues of his products. He said that he was an American legend and made a tour of the halls to get to know what the competition was doing.

Sightseers lined up like a guard of honour as the Chrysler procession went by, like a visit by the senior physician in a hospital ward.

At the front were two Iacocca assistants, then Bob Lutz, number three in the Chrysler hierarchy, former president of Ford Europe with the catalogue of the Chrysler range in his hand. Behind came Lee Iacocca, America's true dream of success. The rearguard was made up of two PR people and powerful body-guards.

In the evening Iacocca made his major appearance as guest speaker at the traditional German motoring correspondents club dinner, attended by all the top managers in the industry.

He spoke of what was already know, relaxed, witty, projecting his strong personality. He said that the range of models was too wide, that 23 per cent of American automobile manufacturing capacity was not used and that German cars in America were respected.

The next morning early he had an important appointment. He concerns himself with the vital network of dealers. And then an interview on the stand.

Bob Stempel, new president of General Motors, and Edzard Reuter, new boss of *Daimler-Benz*, are quite the opposite at a conference: objective, informative, not publicity seeking.

They were not only interested in the private car, but also the accessories branch, particularly — and this would have been unheard of a few years ago — new designs and materials for the catalytic converter from manufacturers, who should eventually do away with all the talk of the car being harmful.

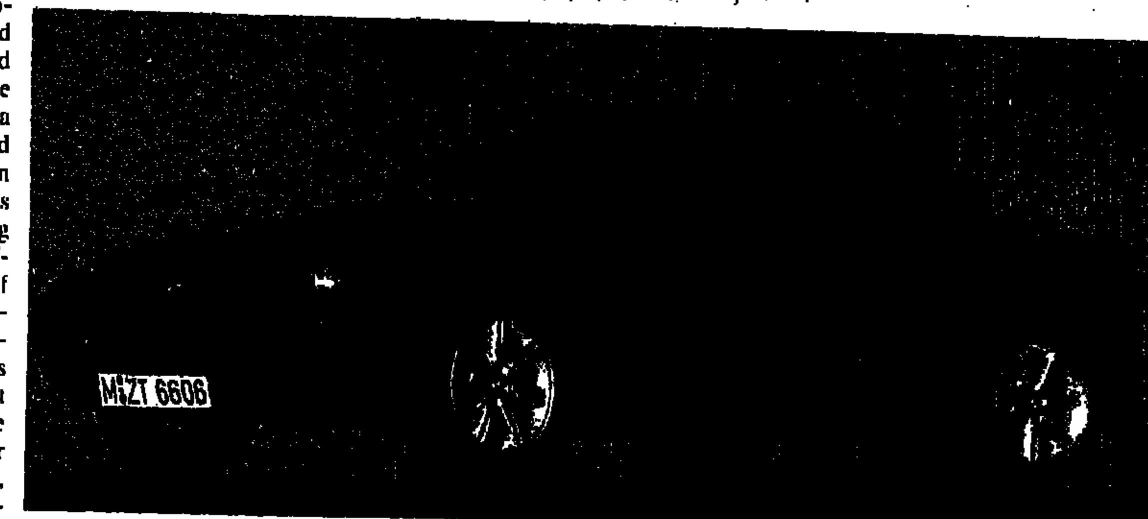
Adventure films on television have given the trucker status and commercial vehicles are no longer passed over casually. This is also true of buses.

Sightseers from Japan crawled into luggage comparments and behind to seats that tip to the side.

The enthusiasm is directly in contrast to the wellbeing of this sector of the industry. The commerical vehicles market is at rock bottom. This is why experts are looking for new approaches and designs. There was an

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Mercedes made a show of safety features. (Photo: Sven Simon)



Boooml Mooooml Whooooml BMW's latest, the Z1, at Frankfurt. (Photo: BMW)

■ ARCHAEOLOGY

South America before Columbus



Many exhibitions have dealt with Central and South American culture before Christopher Columbus. Most have merely displayed relics without imparting a deep insight into this puzzling culture.

This lack of insight has had the inevitable result of stoking European curiosity: every exhibition about the cultural life of this region before Columbus generates extensive interest.

The latest, from Madrid's Museo de América, is called *Gold und Macht* (Gold and power) and has the ambiguous sub-title, *Spanien in der Neuen Welt* (Spain in the New World).

It has been to Vienna, Budapest and Cologne and is now in Munich.

A special date is coming up which makes the exhibition appropriate: the 500th anniversary of the discovery of America will be celebrated in 1992, if the word "celebrate" is the right one.

Not only Spain but the whole of Europe will look back on 1492 with varying reactions and historical sensitivity.

For the Spaniards the date will be of considerable significance, recalled with varying feelings and reactions. It is the date of the Conquistadores' dreadful descent on the New World and its conquest, the subjugation of the civilisation and its partial eradication.

Spaniards feel at one and the same time a clandestine sense of triumph that remains undimmed in the national consciousness, for at this period Spain triumphed and in the years that followed Spain became the most powerful country in the western world.

Spain, now on the periphery of Europe, naturally now looks back with some satisfaction. But Spanish historians know only too well, as do historians of other countries, that this drama was in truth a tragedy, not only for the conquered but the conquerors. From both sides, the exploits of the Conquistadores were tragic adventures. Hundreds of books have been written about this tragedy of the western spirit and we learned about it at school.



Mulattos from Esmeralda, 1599, by Adrian Sanchez Galque, an AC (After Columbus) exhibit (Photo: Catalogue)

The Dominican Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474-1566), the most important commissioner for the Indians, was himself a tragic figure. He fought for the Indians' rights and as a consequence made enemies for himself among the powerful.

The emperor Charles V forbade the enslavement of the Indians and so opened up the way for bringing in slaves from Black Africa. Las Casas quickly regretted the emperor's action because he saw that slavery was only transferred from one race to another.

Many of the items in the exhibition are first-class, objects that the conquerors laid at the feet of their king and which, metaphorically speaking, were splattered with blood.

The exhibition revolves round the exhibits in gold including the famous golden discoveries from the Quimbaya graves. Moral thoughts about these finds do not actually apply since they were discovered 300 years after the Conquistadores, in 1871.

The exhibits include cult utensils in gold such as receptacles for lime in human shape or like a human head.

Lime was used to chew coca leaves which put the celebrant and the people into a state of euphoria in cult ceremonies.

Other gold objects include pendants in the shape of animals or beautiful filigree decorations for clothing.

Cult masks, seats of stone for cult ceremonies, a lime-stone relief with extraorindary supple treatment of the stone, are on show among the pre-Columbus pieces. There are also ceramics and textiles decorated with considerable imagination.

The catalogue includes a detailed description of each exhibit so that the layman, little acquainted with the stylistic characteristics of the various epochs in Peru, Ecuador, Costa Rica and Mexico, is provided with enough information on each object to give some idea of the historical and cultural significance of the individual items.

The second part of the exhibition is, however, of greater significance. This is the section dealing with conquest and colonisation and includes the complications and disputes that surround any number of the exhibits.

There is a renaissance-like or baroque historical painting showing the battle of the Spaniards against the Indians in part in curiously simultaneous scenes.

From the stylistic point of view this is a European painting, from the purely pictorial point of view it was conceived by a first-class artist but executed by a second-class one.

The religious paintings and sculptures are of considerable importance, evidence of the various ways in which the conquered people were Christianised as well as the fusion of Christian blessings with those of the national religion of the various peoples.

The interbreeding of the Spanish with the indigenous people, producing the mestizos, is shown in 16 huge pictures. The groups of figures, which personify the various shades of interbreeding dramatically create genre pictures.

The picture of the three "Mulattos from Esmeralda," painted in 1599 by Adrian Sanchez Galque, otherwise unknown, is very well worth seeing. It shows runaway slaves in the costume of Spanish grandees, their noses and ears decorated with golden art objects.

The picture recalls how a community of inflammatory slaves in Esmeralda where again subjugated to Spanish domination.

There is a lot about the brutality of the conquerors, but hardly anything of the spiritual and political tragedy of the conquest.

In Cologne the lack of information was countered by a small exhibition guide and notices about the extermination of the autochthon peoples.

In Munich, after the intervention of the Spanish embassy, this critical accompanying material has been withdrawn. The exhibition visitor will find no trace of this critical element. There is plenty of reading material dealing with historical and cultural aspects in the catalogue, but there is little suggestion of criticism in the Munich presentation.

Although the scope of the exhibition has been slightly reduced it is a major and respectable exhibition, despite the objections mentioned above.

It only gives part of an aspect of the difficulties surrounding 1492.

It is to be hoped that over the next five years additional perspectives will be discovered of the crisis in the European spirit at the change from the Late Middle Ages to the beginning of Modern Times.

Walter Fenn

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 14 August 1987)

Carthage razed, Carthage raised

West German archaeologists are digging seven metres to unearth what they can of ancient Carthage, now buried under a fashionable suburb of Tunis, capital of Tunisia.

The walls and other finds discovered by the small team, led by Professor Hans Georg Niemeyer of Hamburg University, date from the 8th century BC.

After a long and frightful siege the Romans conquered Carthage, Rome's most dangerous adversary, in 145 BC, razing the city to the ground. The ruins of Carthage, that once ruled the seas, burned for 17 days.

The Greek historian Polybios, who was with the Roman commander, Publius Cornelius Scipio, at the destruction of Carthage, reported that the commander, "did not hide his tears, but openly wept for his enemy."

It was said that Scipio was sunk deep in thought for many hours and he gradually realised that all cities, nations and rulers eventually fell, as it happened to Troy and as it would happen to Rome.

The Romans razed Carthage to the ground, ploughed up the land, scattered salt in the furrows, cursing them. The site was made desolate, never to be settled again.

But the Romans themselves, 100 years later, began to build there again. The city that the Romans established, Colonia Iulia Carthago, was a flourishing city for many hundreds of years.

The antiquities tourists see at the site of Carthage today are mainly the remains of this Roman settlement.

The destruction meted out by the Roman legionaires was clear to the German archaeologists. "Three metres down it is possible to see how the piles were beaten down," said Professor Niemeyer after his second dig in Carthage that ended recently.

A further three metres down the archaeologists came upon archaeological strata. Dating is done mainly from ceramic finds, plates and drinking jars. The finds that are brought to light are similar to the objects found at other sites in West Phoenicia. Dating is confirmed by natural science examination of the finds.

The two digs go back to the confirmation of the archaeological strata by scientists from the German Archeological Institute in Rome, headed by Professor Friedrich Rakob.

In 1973 the Tunisian government set in motion a "Campaign to Save Carthage." Many countries became involved including West Germany through members of the Institute in Rome.

Professor Niemeyer was commissioned to lead the 1986/1987 archaeological campaign because of his considerable experience in Tuscany and Torre del Mar, near Malaga in Spain, where he uncovered traces of a Phoenician presence.

The Carthage dig site covers 150 square metres and is 380 metres from the seashore. According to a Roman city plan the site stands on an important street intersection, Cardo maximus and Decumanus maximus which cut through the Byrsa Hill, according to legend the foundation place of Carthage by Dido, or Elissa, legendary daughter of Belus, king of Tyre, and sister of Pygmalion. *She was said to have founded Carthage.*

Seven hundred years later the Emperor Augustus had his temple built there as a mark of his rule.

The Tunisian government has declared a part of Ancient Carthage to be an "Archeological Park." A stop was been put to building on the site.

A French-Tunisian team have uncovered houses dating from the time of the commander Hannibal "247-183 BC). Hannibal led an army through Spain, over the Alpes and threatened Rome itself.

A British team has done good work on a site in the harbour. There is some doubt whether the German dig, started in 1986, will continue because of financial problems.

Rudolf Grimm/dpa

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 3 September 1987)

■ BOOKS

Novelist tries to get close enough to feel the hot breath of a hijacking

NÜRNBERGER Nachrichten

Friedrich Christian Delius opens his new novel, *Mogadischu Fensterplatz*, with his main character filling out a form for "legal compensation for the victims of acts of violence."

His main character is Andrea Boländer, a 30-year-old zoologist from Tübingen, a passenger on the Lufthansa aircraft hijacked on 13 October 1977. It was a time of violence: Hanns-Martin Schleyer, president of the German employers' organisation, was missing. He had been kidnapped on 5 September.

This opening scene takes place five weeks after the hijacking. Delius describes her recollections.

She and 85 other passengers board the aircraft at Palma de Majorca. They are going to Frankfurt. She immediately begins to write a farewell letter.

She had been in Majorca for a short holiday to make up her mind about which of two boyfriends to give up.

She is gazing out of the window in row 10. "Hands up! Don't move!" There are cries, screams. A "Captain Jassid" and three others appear, armed with pistols and explosives.

Her first instantaneous reaction is that it is a scene from a film. But it is bitter reality. The four Palestinians, two men and two women, address each other by numbers. Their commands are imperious. They hit out brutally. People are prevented from going to the toilet.

The most tormenting thing for Andrea Boländer is the uncertainty. The passengers are told nothing.

Author Delius used published eyewitness reports by former hostages for information. He describes almost microscopically what Andrea Boländer (she is researching "the ultra-sound senses of harmful insects" at Tübingen) saw and felt.

She distinguishes what she actually sees from her fantasy world of "the pleasant past" into which she escapes from her aircraft prison.

She wonders what would happen if the kidnappers let the plane crash, and is amazed that so many people are not able to defend themselves against so few.

After several take-offs and landings, the horror has diminished a little. For a while, some of the tension recedes.

"Captain Jassid" eventually makes known the kidnappers' conditions. The passengers will only be released if "the imperialist German government" frees nine German "comrades from a fascist German prison." If not the "Landshut" will be blown to bits.

The hijackers lay great emphasis on the fact that they are "freedom fighters and not terrorists."

Jassid gives the passengers a lesson on Palestinian history. He says that the British "sold off the country to the Zionists," whole villages were butchered, "a million Palestinians had to flee" from the country.

The "Bonn neo-Nazis" were, along with the Americans, the "most important allies" of Zionism.

He says that for 30 years the Palestinians had "begged" in vain for their rights, from the United Nations Organisation and from their Arab brothers.

Jassid's defence has its effect on Andrea Boländer. She is not particularly interested in politics. She is a "normal citizen" who has got her Abitur (the university entrance examination) at night school and studies biology.

She wonders if the Palestinians, in view of their wretched condition, will not turn to "even more gross methods" to achieve their aims?

Delius does not just concentrate on describing external events in the plane, but with considerable feeling, he shows how events affect the hijacked and the hijackers psychologically.

What strikes Andrea Boländer is the continuous contradictions in Jassid's behaviour. On the one hand he threatens that the plane's pilot will be shot, standard practice in hijacking (and he is), and then he allows the passengers to drink champagne to celebrate an air hostess's birthday.

He hits women for no other reason than that they have an Israeli visa in their passports, and then he lets them go and behaves as if he wants to make good a mistake he has made.

The "religious war" that Jassid believes in within himself, reduces everything to good or evil, and the "war logic" that he follows, reduces everything to either/or.

Jassid is a small part of the inherited cycle of violence, a part of a vicious circle that began with the Nazis' genocide.

Andrea is aware that the aim should be to break out of this disastrous cycle, for people will not understand and forigve forever. She says: "...we shall be back among our fathers and grandfathers if there is no longer logic, meaning and a sense of humanity."

They are on the tarmac at Mogadishu. The tension is rebuilding. The air is fetid. People are sweating, stinking. Delius captures this sense of tension. Physical conditions become more and more oppressive: the blood grows sluggish because of inactivity, the ache of limbs, unbearable sweating, the indescribable sanitary conditions. Delius is an accurate reporter.



Captures the tension . . . author Delius. (Photo: Peitsch)

As the climax approaches, Andrea Boländer has a feeling almost of detachment, an impression that everything is happening on a stage.

And when at the end, when the tension comes to a head once more, she has the hallucination that the hijackers and the liberators are one. To die or not to die, that is almost unimportant so long as something happens.

Delius describes the ups and downs of psychological events, that eventually veer round to hallucination, with sensitivity.

This applies also to Andrea Boländer's neighbours, forced upon her; Petra, who takes part in beauty contests in discotheques and Ingeborg, a beautician from Heusenstamm, near Darmstadt.

Delius clothes the dialogue of his female characters in terse, sometimes hectic, language.

This goes well with the pattern of perception in the situation but now and again it is forced (and from a language point of view too dry).

If it is disturbing that Delius's main character is a neutral, non-political female observer that could be a cunning move on the author's part.

The action becomes more authentic in this way and his "moral" more credible, the "moral" that without knowing the motives of the perpetrator of an act of violence, the cycles of violence cannot be broken.

In *Mogadischu Fensterplatz* Delius has presented this cycle of violence tautly and subtly with his descriptions of the events inside the stuffy body of the plane during the five-day Odyssey between Spain, Arabia and Africa.

Stephan Reinhardt

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 5 September 1987)

***Mogadischu Fensterplatz* (Window Seat at Mogadishu), Friedrich Christian Delius, Rowohlt Verlag, Reinbek near Hamburg. 264pp. DM29.80.**

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unbelievable truck from Rolls-Royce. If you want to transport freight luxuriously in the future then a visit to Michael Fröhlich's stand is called for.

A Rolls was "beheaded" in his Düsseldorf firm, Classic Motors Design, and provided with a loading area with room for a motor bike. Chrome exhaust pipes make sure that the vehicle has the right truck sound. The cost for such a pick-up is about DM150,000.

The trade had three days to see the novelties and make comparisons. When the show opens to the public it is expected that more than 100,000 people per day will tour the halls.

People come from all over Europe, on a kind of pilgrimage to the Frankfurt Motor Show. It is a holiday and a public demonstration for what is the most popular personal possession.

But before the visitor gets to the show there is an agony of tailbacks on the roads to be overcome.

Even on the quiet days the shuttle services and parking were chaos and between the halls there was no going forward or going back.

Thus the most popular means of transport in the midst of 100,000 cars was, of all things, the bike. Ford offered a cost-free bike-hire service — the peaceful co-existence between various means of transport.

Heinz Horrmann

(Die Welt, Bonn, 10 September 1987)

■ THE ENVIRONMENT

Exhaust gases, bulldozers, blamed for Alpine erosion disasters

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Destruction of forests through both aerial pollution and the bulldozer is being blamed for the increasing number of landslides, avalanches and floods in Europe's Alps.

Tree damage means that networks of roots are no longer present to bind together topsoil and prevent erosion.

Motor vehicle emission is regarded as a main cause of aerial pollution, which is said to have damaged 78 per cent of Bavaria's mountain forest area beyond repair.

In other areas, the demand for ski resorts has lead to the removal of trees to make way both for ski slopes, chair lifts and off-slope facilities.

The most dramatic disaster was on 28 July when three villages were buried and 30 people died in a landslide in the Veltlin Valley in the Italian Alps.

Earlier in the summer, 23 were killed when debris slid on to their camping site near Annecy, in French Savoy.

Two Austrian resorts, the Ötztal and the Stubaital, both remain cut off after landslides. The Stubaital has twice been hit by landslides and flooding.

Landslides, floods, mud and scree avalanches are clear signs that nature is beginning to avenge man's abuse of it.

Friedrich Wilhelm, professor of geography at Munich University, says the disasters should not be called natural disasters: "Man is to blame for these catastrophes all over the Alps."

Alpine biologist Karl Partsch explains the variety of parts the forest plays at high altitudes:

"Forests line Alpine slopes as an artificial embankment to serve villages, roads and fields below as a protection from avalanches.

"Forest have extensive root systems which hold the topsoil together and prevent erosion."

Professor Wilhelm explains how forests provide protection from flooding:

"In heavy rainfall forest areas can absorb much more water than barren land; their surface area is larger.

"Pasture can absorb between five and ten per cent of the rainfall, forests up to 100 per cent."

Vehicle emission imposes the heaviest burden on the forest, with the crucial role it plays for life in the Alps. In Bavaria 78 per cent of the mountain forest acreage is damaged beyond hope of recovery.

A year ago the figure was 61 per cent. Professor Peter Schütt warns: "If the trend continues, there will not be a single tree of any size anywhere in the Alps in five years."

Trees are also felled by axe and chainsaw where ski runs, lifts, footpaths, Alpine pastures, hotels or holiday estates are planned.

There are 40,000 ski runs and over 12,000 lifts and railways already in the Alps.

Professor Alexander Cernunsca of Innsbruck University biology department has spent years probing how dramatically they can increase the risk of landslides and floods.

He says: "Water flows down the runs into the valley as though they were concrete sections because the soil is compacted by bulldozing in summer and rollering in winter."

Measurements he has made on the Christlum run in Achenkirch, Austria, show the soil to absorb 10 times less water than adjacent forest topsoil.

A mere 15 millimetres of rainfall is all that is needed to start surface water running downhill, which can fast result in a torrent.

The damage summer holidaymakers can do has also been underestimated. Fifty million tourists a year tramp round the mountains in summer; that is more than the Alps can withstand.

Every new footpath, any new excursion point, picnic site or restaurant can be the last straw for the ecological balance.

teep and grassy Alpine slope is not normally likely to collapse in a landslide. The turf holds it together.

But the merest footpath across the slope (it needn't be asphalted) can destroy the surface tension and trigger a landslide during the next downpour.

Mountain roads and footpaths are a bone of contention for environmentalists because they take rainwater down into the valley too fast.

"Every mountain hut nowadays can be reached by car even though it is only intended for use by hikers," says Kurt Reiter, in charge of disaster relief in Zell am See, Bavaria.

"These roads and forest paths are transformed into torrential waterfalls down which rain can plunge into the valley."

The cardinal sin, Professor Wilhelm says, is irresponsible development of previously uninhabited mountain areas.

"People who lived in the mountain valleys for centuries knew why they didn't settle in certain places," he says. "They knew landslides occurred there in summer and avalanches in winter."

Stubaital is an example. Local residents and their many holidaymakers and weekend visitors had no difficulty with such risks until the early 1980s. The 508 hectares of valley were threatened by 25 avalanche areas, six streams that could be transformed into torrents in heavy rainfall and three combinations of the two. But local people knew of the dangers of flooding and falling scree and built houses only where they knew they safely nestled in the lee of the forest. With a view to ensuring the retention of forest preserves these areas were zoned in the 1979 local development plan. In the valley no building was permitted in red zones, while safety precautions such as thicker walls were prescribed in yellow zones.

But a rash of hotels, boarding houses and holiday homes was built in Stubaital and all over the Alps, coming ever closer to and encroaching on the red zones – with the resulting landslides.

Local authorities ignored the loose soil and scree in the hills and concentrated on tourist revenue in the valleys. They must now learn their lesson the hard way.

Changes in agricultural structure have also had serious consequences in the Alps. More and more Alpine pasture was used because meadows were no longer available in the valleys. Farmers felled timber to provide the extra acreage.

Can the Alps still be saved or has nature already proved man's master? The outlook is grim. Urgently needed afforestation is complex, success cannot be guaranteed and it is, above all, unbelievably expensive.

Professor Lutz Wicke of the Environmental Protection Agency, Berlin, has costed the exercise. Flood precautions will, he says, cost DM1bn, plus a further DM6.5bn for channelling mountain streams and preventing landslides and erosion.

Water purification will cost DM50m a year because the quality of water has suffered from flooding and soil erosion.

Protecting roads from landslides and avalanches will cost DM2.8m per kilometre. Professor Wicke estimates the total cost of rescue operations for the Alps at DM5.5bn a year, not including the cost of forest damage and tourist revenue forfeited.

Will our growth-oriented society be prepared to foot this bill to save the Alps as we know them?

Michael Heinrich

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 4 September 1987)

Chart shows part of the Bavarian Allgäu. Dots denote threatened valleys and the arrows the direction of floodwaters and scree.

(Chart: DAV; Rainer Michaelis)

Immediate ban on building ski runs urged

Conservationists are demanding an immediate ban on the development of new skiing areas, especially at altitudes above 1,600 metres.

Helmut Röscheisen, of the environmental-protection lobby, *Deutscher Naturschutzring*, said in an interview that skiing and tree deaths were mainly to blame for the string of environmental catastrophes in the lps.

Ecologically sensitive areas were being developed to meet the demand for skiing facilities. This led to soil erosion and damaged flora.

Ski runs were being built in large numbers and at great expense. There were over 12,000 ski lifts and funicular railways and 40,000 ski runs in the Alps from Grenoble, France, to Schladming, Austria.

Herr Röscheisen was worried that another 3,000 lifts and railways might be built in Austria alone by the turn of the century if skiing retained its popularity.

The acreage used for winter sport would grow from 20,000 to 36,000 hectares.

He said ski runs kept in trim by the latest equipment were a serious environmental hazard. Runs could now be laid out in the most difficult terrain and on bare rock with the aid of heavy equipment, but forests were cleared and topsoil washed away in the process.

The catastrophic consequence was that in heavy rainfall, or if the snow melted suddenly, ski runs were transformed into torrential waterfalls, causing unprecedented flooding.

In heavy rain up to one third of the rainfall is absorbed in the treetops of a mixed forest, while soil quality and quantity also affect the amount of water absorbed.

They in turn affected the extent of soil erosion, especially on steep slopes.

Herr Röscheisen admitted that skiing was a cornerstone of the tourist trade in the Alps. He said that the *Deutscher Alpenverein* was to co-sponsor a conference to be held in Lindau on Lake Constance next April.

An attempt was to be made at this conference to draw up a legally binding Alpine protection convention to be signed by neighbouring states. Priority must be given to zoning extensive, interlinked conservation areas to protect ecologically valuable or endangered biotopes throughout the region.

There must be no encroachments whatever within these taboo zones.

The *Naturschutzring* feels a total ban must be imposed on new skiing areas and on new man-made runs, while existing facilities must be reclaimed and recultivated.

There is little point in taking the trouble at altitudes above 1,600 metres however. Descents must only be permitted whe there is at least 25cm to 30cm of snow.

Environmentally conscious skiers must be guided by a "seal of environmental quality" that might arguably be awarded to operators of ski runs. A preparatory conference is being held by the DNR in Waldenburg/Hohe Buch, near Schwäbisch Hall.

Experts and sports representatives have been invited to attend. They will discuss the use of the countryside by sport under the heading "From Hard to Soft Sport."

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, Munich, 4 September 1987)

■ SOCIETY

Purpose-built village aims to help assimilate mentally handicapped

DIE WELT

Sixty people, members of "normal" families, are to live alongside 140 mentally handicapped people in a community project on the outskirts of Mülheim in the Ruhr.

The 200-strong community will soon be moving in to a purpose-built complex called The Village, built at a cost of 21 million marks in the countryside.

One of the families to have volunteered to move is the Kominas, consisting of five people, none of whom is handicapped.

Their main concern was how daughter Jessica, 5, will react. Relatives and friends spoke of their doubts and suggested that ever-present handicapped neighbours might prey on their minds.

They were warned they might be moving into a kind of ghetto. But they decided it was The Village for them. They feel oppressed by the anonymity of their terraced house on the estate in Reisholz, a Düsseldorf suburb.

Irmgard Komina, 31, sees the advantages of getting out into the country although Esad, 17, will be sorry about being so far away from his friends.

"Plenty of people live here," says grandma Erna Thole, 54, about the Komina's present home. "But you know no-one. Someone may mumble 'Guten Tag!' but that's about as far as it goes."

She often feels lonely at home with the children during the day but is confident life will be different in the family's new home.

"The mother of a handicapped boy has already invited me to attend a meeting of the women's group," she says.

The family feel they stand to benefit in more general terms from the move. They hope to help people who, in Jessica's words, are "a little ill" to lead normal lives and to truly integrate and encourage them.

In return they hope to gain a clearer insight into the problems other people face and to return to a more natural manner of getting along with each other.

"Handicapped people react spontaneously. They show their feelings immediately. They are the ones who are normal, not us in our social straitjackets," says father Ilijas Komina.

Rev. Klaus Hildemann sees life in The Village as "therapy for both sides." The project's name was chosen as a programme: that of reverting to a more natural, rural way of life.

The head of the Theodor-Fliedner-Werk, the non-profit organisation in charge of the project, says he would have preferred 60 handicapped people to live alongside 140 non-handicapped rather than vice-versa.

But a community of 200 will soon be moving into new redbrick houses amid golden cornfields and meadows in an area of 40,000 square metres, or 10 acres.

Construction work totalling DM21m is almost over, with costs being shared by North Rhine-Westphalia, by the Foundation for the Handicapped Child, the Welfare Care Foundation and the *Aktion Sorgenkind*.

Yet the Fliedner-Werk, the leading welfare agency in the Rhineland, has still had to raise DM3,850,000 in funds and donations of its own.

The result is an architecturally captivating complex consisting of asymmetrical rooms, tall covered courtyards and stairwells, plate glass and wood — and everything designed for use by the handicapped.

The Kominas are moving into one of five semi-detached houses. Other tenants include families with one or more handicapped member.

They face a long, squat array of arcades where handicapped tenants will live in shared apartments under constant care and attention.

A group of four with their therapists live in a lounge, kitchen, bathroom, two single rooms and a double.

Unlike conventional homes, the two-storey buildings for tenants who will, for the most part, be elderly handicapped people will not consist mainly of long and gloomy corridors. All rooms open into the lounge.

Alfred Nitschke and Elisabeth Biel are moving into yet another variety of apartment — a home of their own (at long last). They will no longer have to part company once the evening's TV is over.

They met each other at a Fliedner-Werk home and were engaged at a summer fête. They used to live strictly separated in single rooms; they will now share a living room, bedroom and bathroom.

They can decorate their new home just as they like. "I want a TV of my own," he says. He is a Western fan and doesn't want to miss the screen action.

Two other tenants live in their house and might want to see a different programme on TV. This problem need not then arise.

It is far from a matter of course that handicapped people such as Alfred Nitschke and Elisabeth Biel are allowed to live together. Marriage between handicapped persons is, for instance, illegal.

"Yet no-one has the right to refuse them companionship and sexuality," says Rev. Hildemann, outlining his therapeutic approach. "I'm just not interested in official Church problems in this context."

An educationalist and psychologist, he envisages no difficulties from the Church. Problems arise where they might least be expected — with the taxman, for instance.

As a welfare organisation the Fliedner-Werk is not entitled to apply for housing construction grants and then to rent accommodation to non-handicapped people.

But that, of course, is the basis of the entire concept. "Legislative clarification is urgently needed on this point," he says.

The Village is surely a step forward in therapy for the handicapped, with handicapped and healthy people living alongside each other.

The handicapped are not to view themselves solely in terms of their own handicaps. By sharing their everyday lives with healthy people they are to be enabled to lead more normal lives.

Healthy people who live alongside the handicapped should be better able to come to terms with suppressed fears of sickness and death.

Total integration is not the objective, Rev. Hildemann adds. Many handicapped people don't want it, as is shown by the waiting list for homes in The Village.

There is none for rooms in shared apartments of the kind where handicapped people live nearly everywhere, both in Germany and in countries such as Britain and Sweden.

Strength of character is needed to hold your own in a shared apartment. "Social isolation is too widespread," Rev. Hildemann says.

So he prefers what might arguably be considered an artificial atmosphere in which socially committed people are prepared to meet the handicapped halfway.

The summer fête will be an initial opportunity, enabling "Villagers" to get to know each other on a friendly and informal basis.

They have all previously met other members of the prospective community in the course of interviews with Fliedner-Werk staff.

There are unlikely to be problems with local people in Selbeck, an old colliery estate on the outskirts of Mülheim. Old and handicapped people have lived in Selbeck since the end of the war.

"It is handy that people there are used to dealing with the handicapped," Frau Komina says. "They will have no misgivings about The Village and readily accept their new neighbours."

And, she adds: "Jessica is sure to have no difficulty in making new friends there."

M. Schlingmann

(Die Welt, Bonn, 1 September 1987)

A deaf doctor heads project to help deaf

Inge Richter is the only deaf doctor in Germany specialising in neurology and psychiatry.

Dr Richter, 33, has been deaf from birth. Because she has never heard words spoken, she has had to learn to speak artificially. Speech for her, as for all people deaf from birth, is an artificial thing.

She lip-reads. She looks you straight in the face but doesn't give the impression of looking at the lips. You sense her pent-up energy.

"Oh yes," she says, speaking clearly. "Artificial speech uses up a lot of energy." She is quick to dispel mistaken impressions.

She doesn't want to fuel other deaf people's unrealistic hopes. She knows that the deaf soon come up against their limits.

She wanted to study medicine at an early age, but her parents were against the idea. They didn't want her to be disappointed.

"A doctor must be able to hear his patients," her father warned her. Almost daily he plied her with newspaper clippings about rejected applicants for medical college.

But Munich-born Inge had staying power. She was admitted to medical college and went through a torture people with normal hearing cannot possibly imagine.

She was one of 400 students. They all had normal hearing, as did the teaching staff, but most of them mumbled.

She didn't dare sit in the front row to be able to lip-read what the lecturer said. "Those in front were asked questions most often," she recalls.



Ignored the warnings . . . Inge Richter.

(Photo: archives)

So she kept to the back of the lecture theatre and copied the notes of the student next to her, then went home and pored over her books.

Walls all over the house, even in the bathroom, were papered with photocopies of textbooks and lecture notes.

She passed her intermediate exam on schedule after four semesters, then set about her PhD thesis, helped and encouraged by her *Doktormutter*, Professor Gabriele Full-Scharrer.

Prejudice and incomprehension continued to confront her as an intern. Life wasn't made easier for her; she was expected to be better than average. The handicapped usually are.

She graduated in 1981 and failed to find a job. Her first job, in 1984, was at the Ansbach district hospital, a psychiatric clinic that hit the headlines in connection with drug experiments on patients.

For the past year she has worked in what she says are ideal conditions in the district psychiatric clinic in Erlangen.

She and the head of the clinic, Professor Dr Holger-Kurt Schneider, have ambitious plans. Twenty-five mentally ill deaf patients are to be taken in and treated with a view to enabling them to return to normal, outside life.

A team of 26 specialists — doctors, therapists, nursing staff, social workers and deaf and dumb teachers — look after the patients round the clock in what is a pilot project for south Germany.

Inge Richter is in charge of the project. As a deaf person herself she is clearly in a position to establish a special rapport with patients.

"I can tell them home truths they wouldn't accept from others," she says, "such as: 'You're deaf, you're going to stay deaf and you'll have to learn to live with it.'"

It can be done. Inge Richter is an outstanding example of how to go about it.

Günter Dehn

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 6 September 1987)

HORIZONS

Youthful trend towards free-loading

More and more young people are living at home without contributing to the household although they are wage-earners.

Brigitte Krömer, head of the central office for efficient house-keeping in Bonn, said: "Children are now less prepared to make an appropriate contribution to house-keeping costs."

The analysis of families who sought advice from the Bonn office last year, shows that 28 per cent of young people who are wage-earners but live with their parents do not pay a penny to the house-keeping.

The survey showed that 47 per cent paid less than DM300 per month for their board and lodging, only 25 per cent paid more.

Consultations with parents revealed that they did not bring up the question of contributing to the household with their sons and daughters for fear they would leave home. Young people did in fact make this threat to their parents.

The Bonn organisation, that was commissioned to carry out the survey by the German giro and savings banks association, advices parents that they should always insist that their children should make an appropriate contribution to the house-keeping when their sons and daughters were working and earning.

Brigitte Krömer said: "Young people have to learn how to pay their way. But they can't do that if they have no idea about the costs of accommodation, heating, electricity, telephone, water and the various other items of house-keeping.

Parents should frankly discuss with their children the costs of running the home, she said, and agree with them on the contribution they should make to it.

Brigitte Krömer advises parents who do not have to rely on a contribution to the house-keeping from their children to open a savings account.

"Perhaps they should open an account and put the children's contribution to the home in their savings. There are, any way, many families with children who have DM1,000 and more in take-home pay and they do not pay anything, while their mothers do not even have a little pocket money of their own," she said.

Pocket money is a touchy matter in this country. In 13 per cent of the families who asked for advise from the Bonn office no-one in the family had pocket money.

Frau Krömer said: "If family members pay for their personal items from the house-keeping it is impossible to keep a control on this kind of expenditure in the household budget. For this reason we are of the view that it is much better if everyone has a fixed amount of pocket money."

Frau Krömer said that it is the rule among most families now for children, when they reach the age of six, to have pocket money.

She continued: "The proportion of men who have fixed pocket money is twice as great as women. Women more often than not have to take their pocket money from the house-keeping, which often gives them a bad conscience."

"Then women have to do without pocket money if something untoward crops up that has to be paid for from the house-keeping," she said.

Only 40 per cent of the households that turned to the Bonn office for advice last year could not manage with their income. Sixty per cent wanted to know how they could do more with their income.

The car cost DM200 per month in the case of 60 per cent of the families advised by the Bonn office, and 59 per cent paid over DM500 for house rent.

In 60 per cent of cases electricity, gas and water cost more than DM100 per month. Fifty-six per cent of those advised saved at least DM100 per month.

Horst Zimmermann

(Saarbrucken Zeitung, 11 August 1987)

Young volunteers leave trail of international good will

Every year, 11,000 young West Germans go out and work on community, church or charitable projects in Germany or somewhere overseas.

They build children's playgrounds in Berlin, tend graves in Israel, build churches in Africa and help the handicapped in India.

They don't get paid. Usually, only board and lodging is all they get.

Karla Schachtner, 23, is a geography student from Bonn. She said at an exhibition at the Bonn Family Affairs Ministry to publicise the various forms of volunteer work: "No-one could have told us about what we have experienced with people and their culture when working and being together."

Last year she worked for three months in a work camp in Togo. The Service Civil International (SCI) had arranged the work for her. This is an organisation that is represented in Africa by partner organisations.

She was prepared for Africa at two introductory seminars conducted by experienced work camp members. They told her about how to deal with people in these special circumstances and the problems that can arise.

She had had a good look at questions dealing with the Third World when she was a schoolgirl. "I wanted to gain more experience rather than only theory," she said.

While other young people go off to the Côte d'Azur or go off on holiday with one of the many holiday club organisations where they look after children of holiday guests, Karla Schachtner lugged sand and stones, water and wood to build a new health centre.

The harder she worked during the day the more relaxing were the evenings when people got together spontaneously and a local person unpacked an instrument and they listened some music together.

"Quite astonishingly music was a unique means of communication, and worked out well," she said.

Karla travelled to the camp with a German. Mainly Africans worked in the camp, for the SCI looks out for projects in which the local people take an active part.

She said: "If you live, work and cook meals together every day you get quite a different impression of the poverty in the villages than from books, newspaper articles or films."

Working in Togo has quite altered her view of life and made her much more aware of other people's poverty.

That links Karla with all the other young people who have worked in work camps.

They do not just want to indulge their urge for adventure. Most projects have a theoretical aspect that harks back to the political background. In the work camps people get involved in contemporary problems.

The programme for the summer of 1987 said: "We emphasise environmental pollution, old and new fascism, xenophobia, solidarity with the countries of the Third World and ensuring peace by disarmament."

Karla has been to Africa for three months this year, this time to Mali.

Together with two Germans and some African specialists she prepared plans for parks and open green space in Ségou, Mali's second largest city.

Ségou is a well-planned city on the Niger. The job for the four graduate geography students from Bonn included climatic investigations and land surveys.

She worked in close cooperation with national planning officials. The ecology project was part of the grant programme of the Carl Duisburg Society for assisting young people to reside and work in developing countries.

The Society pays only for board and lodging and the air fares. She even had to pay herself for her train fare to the airport for the flight out to Togo.

Karla's experiences have been recorded in a picture exhibition entitled "Tu was — Ja bitte," which provides information on the work of all organisations that are involved on the spot.

It shows young people who look after the handicapped or who work together with Africans. One theme is disturbances to the environment and another is "Learn from history," concerning young Germans who have worked in Poland and Israel.

The diary entries of young people who have been to the work camps — frequently the only commentary accompanying the display of pictures — show how much they gain from the work.

One young man wrote: ". . . many join the community without having had many friends and here they lose their friendlessness."

Barbara Frandsen

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 8 August 1987)

Chinese pupils travel across Siberia to reach Germany

Ten pupils between the ages of 15 and 17 travelled for eight days on the Trans-Siberian Railway from Shanghai, through Russia, and then on through Poland and East Germany to come to Hamburg to take part in a school-exchange programme.

Never before has there been a school exchange programme between China and Europe. It began in May when 10 pupils from Hamburg who had been learning Chinese since 1985 visited Shanghai.

Three Hamburg schools offered the language course in study groups. The arrangements for the first school exchange programme were agreed when the mayors of Hamburg and Shanghai, both major ports, signed a friendship agreement in 1986.

The Chinese guests had three weeks to gain some impressions of life in Germany, whose language they had been learning for four years in Shanghai.

Their good knowledge of the language and their skilful use of it showed how intensive their teaching in Shanghai had been.

Yang Chaohong, who had attended the respected foreign language school in Shanghai, explained: "Schoolboys and girls laugh and chat during lessons here. That would not happen in China. That would be impolite to the teachers. Here you don't learn in such a concentrated way."

The guests unanimously said that more was learned at home.

They were impressed by many things in Hamburg, the parks, the many flowers, the colourful houses, the punctual underground and buses and the lack of crowds that are usual in Shanghai.

Shanghai, with a population of 11 million, is the largest city in China.

Ren Hua praised the salesgirls and men in Hamburg shops. She said: "They are all very nice and friendly. They ask if they can help. It's not always like that in Shanghai."

Jian Fuliang, deputy head of Shanghai's educational authorities, who took charge of the group on their trip to Hamburg, hopes that this "great experience" is just a beginning, that school exchange programmes between China and West Germany will become a regular event.

dpa

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 29 August 1987)

GOURMET'S CORNER

Chipped, mashed, boiled, baked, fried: the spud has a violent history

DIE ZEIT

The humble potato is still an essential part of German meals in spite of the advance of other vegetables and an unfair reputation for making the eater fat.

Legend has it that the potato was discovered by Don Gonzalo Jiménez de Quesada as he searched for El Dorado. He dreamed of coastlines awash with golden eggs, from bays studded with pearls, mountains shimmering with emeralds and from forests smelling of cinnamon.

In 1537, he reached the settlement of Sorocota high up in the Andes full of hope but found that it smelled of nothing and that the indians weren't scraping gold out of the dust. All that came out of the ground was *papas Peruanorum*, "farinaceous roots with a nice taste."

If it was de Quesada or someone else who brought the tuber into the kitchens of Europe is something that potato experts are undecided about.

For many years it was believed that Sir Francis Drake was responsible. The privateer in the service of Queen Elizabeth I, who discovered and exploited the silver mines of Potosi (Potosi, in modern-day Bolivia, became the site of the leading silver mines in the Spanish empire in the 16th and 17th centuries) is said to have taken potatoes on board as food for the crew and brought them back to England.

At least, they used to be convinced of this in Offenburg, south Germany, so much so that, in 1853, they built a stone statue of Sir Francis with a flowering potato plant in his hand and a frieze portraying potatoes and a quote referring to the vegetable being delivered from God to rescue the hungry in times of famine.

The statue was destroyed during the Third Reich. The potato was a "genuine German people's food" that in no way could have possibly been introduced by a member of the English enemy.

Drake made it possible for the masses to fill their bellies. This made them less likely to rebel, which pleased the rulers. Heinrich Heine, the poet and philosopher, mocked: "Luther shocked Germany — but Drake calmed it again. He gave us the potato."

Sir Walter Raleigh, a contemporary of Drake, is also credited with having brought the potato. He was also meant to have delivered El Dorado to his queen, but instead returned with a cargo of feathers, mineral samples and potato.

He is said to have advised: "Plant it in your garden. It produces a wonderful blooming blue-white plant, the fruit of which you can eat."

A friend of Sir Walter followed the advice, had the tubers planted and arranged an exotic banquet. The cook spent days trying to prepare the potato, but it remained bitter. The man became angry and wanted to sack the gardener.

As the guests were chewing into the bitter repast, the man stormed outside and discovered the gardener doing what he had been told to do — burning the remains of the potato. But he was also eating the root part. The smell of it burning had been irresistible and he had bravely taken a bite. It was good.

The gardener had, by accident, discovered that it was that part of the potato that grew below the ground which was the edible part. The guests were eating the seed-containing berries, which grew above the ground.

The gardener had discovered the "vegetable" what many indian tribes regarded as a goddess and the European conquerors as a cruel goddess. The "Papa-Mama," or Potato Mother was the sole arbiter of whether a crop was good or not and she needed to be kept happy with sacrifices: human faces were mutilated to make them look like potatoes.

All sorts of stories about the strange vegetable began to circulate. It grew in the devil's saliva, it caused people to commit sin, it caused weakmindedness, it was an aphrodisiac.

The churches banned it. It was ordered to be fed to pigs, but even in the trough it performed its aphrodisiac role.

Its reputation was one reason why it did not go out of fashion: more lustful members of the aristocracy grew it and there was a revival of erotic pursuits in the pleasure gardens of Europe (otherwise it was only cultivated by botanists and apothecaries). Queens and courtesans wore blooming potato cups or flowers as decoration.

But it took a long time before the potato became used as a food for the masses. The superstitions from above faded, but consumer superstition remained. Efforts to sow fields were frustrated.

People had too often heard about the potato's terrible taste. The berries were still being eaten instead of the tuber. People were convinced that the vegetable was poisonous and that it caused gout, anaemia and leprosy.

When Friedrich the Great sent potatos to the hungry at the siege of Kolberg, the people protested strongly despite their hunger. "These things have neither smell nor taste. Not even the dogs will eat them."

But Frederick the Great was determined. In 1756 he ordered farmers to plant potatoes.

The potato saved many human lives during the famine that ensued from the Seven Years' War. The *Allgemeine Deutschen Real Encyklopädie für die gebildeten Stände* of 1853 said: "The potato has had an extraordinarily positive influence on the welfare of the population because it stops the famine which often inflicts itself on the whole of Europe if a grain harvest fails."

The Bavarian war of succession, which Frederick the Great fought against Austria from 1778 to 1780, has gone into history as the "potato war." The enemy army in Bohemia hardly fought at all. Their main occupation was stealing potatoes. When there were no potatoes left, the war ended. Unfortunately, this lesson of how to wage war has not since been followed.

From now on, the potato was to be happily planted and harvested. "All are bent low, and chubby children's hands, heavy farmer's fists and the shaking hands of old men work in the earth and fill the pinafores and buckets with the blessings of the fields," says a Bavarian schoolbook of 1856.

The French chemist, Antoine Augustin Parmentier, had learned about the potato when he was a Prussian prisoner of war during the Seven Years War.

When he was named as head of the French health system, he decided to make the potato a food for the people. He asked: What is the use of people learning all about the transit of the stars when they are hungry all the time?

But resistance was so strong that Parmentier was driven to using a ruse. He had gendarmes watch over fields he had had planted with potatoes, and he watched happily as temptation did its job and people stole the forbidden fruit by night. So, the potato came to the people.

The broadening of the potato's popularity was welcomed by the upper reaches of society. It consumption caused flatulence, something that worried them. That sort of thing was all right for the working classes, but for us, old boy?

The French Grande Encyclopédie said in 1765: "What is a bit of wind whistling through the healthy bowels of peasants and other working folk?"

As Parmentier was carried through the streets of Paris as a benefactor of mankind during the French Revolution, he drew protests: "He just wants us to eat potato. It's his invention."

Today, the French are not as big potato eaters as the Germans, but they have been no less quick to use it in emergencies. In the First World War, the French Ministry of Agriculture stuck placards on advertising columns featuring a soldier staring with longing at his homeland and at a rustic couple on a potato field. The text said: "Sow potatoes for the soldiers and for France." In Germany, it was: "Harvest more potatos. The German potato must beat England."

German authority Hans Siebeneck lists 20,000 varieties. Enthusiastic eaters are in good company: Napoleon's Josephine (Yes, tonight!); Kaiser Wilhelm (mashed, please!); and Goethe.

Goethe extolled the potato's virtues in a verse and recommended its daily consumption.

Gabriele von Arnim

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 4 September 1987)

Garlic chocolate and garlic jam fit for a garlic king

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

For centuries, garlic was regarded as a protection against demons and vampires. Its smell alone was enough to make the devil take to its heels.

These days, garlic is only used in medicines and for cooking and, although many people still turn up their noses in disgust when someone smelling of garlic comes too close, it is becoming much more accepted, even in more conservative northern climes.

Garlic is a bulbous liliacious plant related to the leek, asparagus and chives. It growing popularity has now been marked by a festival it its honour in Darmstadt, where the 140,000 local people plus their guests are enjoying a variety of specialties ranging from garlic bread and garlic sausage and garlic schnapps to garlic jam and garlic chocolate. A garlic king is to be chosen — on the strength of his garlic breath.

Garlic is said originally to have come from Siberia, but no one really knows. What is known is that all slaves who built the pyramids in Egypt had to eat a clove of garlic every morning to keep insects away.

In Europe, it was the Romans, ever on the lookout for new culinary joys, who spread the use of garlic. They took it wherever they went.

They called the plant allium. That's why it is called "ail" in French, "aglio" in Italian and "ajo" in Spanish. The more ponderous Germans had a more difficult time with the nomenclature. They needed the Old English word "leac", out of which a ger (spear) poked, and from which the Anglo-Saxon "garlic" comes and then went on a huge number of detours until eventually the word "knoblauch" arrived.

But such linguistic pitfalls are unimportant compared with the smell and the taste. Even conservative, northern housewives and housemen have found out that not only roast lamb can be riddled with garlic but that dishes such as meatballs can be garnished with garlic butter.

A simple tip. 1: take.- finely chopped garlic; lightly salted tomato, quartered; goat's milk cheese; and one or two pieces of white bread, toasted and soaked in olive oil. 2: take the bread and place everything on it. 3: eat.

If you want to be a little more adventurous and don't want to go out and buy another cookbook, try this: beat the garlic together with parsley, rosemary, tarragon and thyme. This mixture is enough to give poultry and stews a little more flair.

To impart almost any salad with a touch of the extra special, a garlic clove should be rubbed or pressed on the plate.

Or for a joint of lamb: marinate the leg for two days in a mixture of olive oil, sherry, lemon juice, parsely, rosemary and, of course, garlic. Then cook. And stand back and watch the rush (no, to it, not away from it!)

The festival is offering lots of chances to discuss the health-giving properties of garlic, a quality that was praised by Roman naturalist Plinius the Elder, who died 79 BC in the destruction of Pompeii.

The proceeds from the festival are all going to a charity to help in Ethiopia, in which actor Karlheinz Bohm has an active role.

So what will happen if there are any non garlic-eaters left in Darmstadt? Will they keel over under the onslaught? No, says one participant; garlic "doesn't stink. It is fragrant."

Lothar K. Frost

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